HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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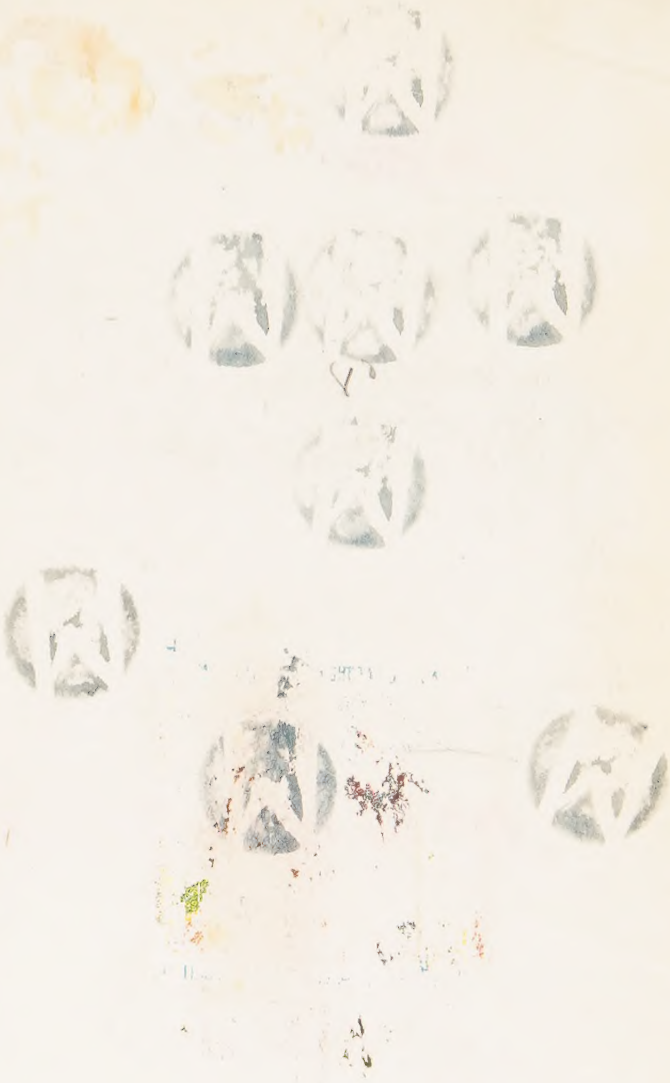

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

AMERICAN LEADERS AND HEROES
STORIES OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY
STORIES OF LATER AMERICAN HISTORY
AMERICAN BEGINNINGS IN EUROPE
COLONIAL DAYS
AMERICAN EXPLORERS
ELEMENTARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
THE CAUSES AND MEANING OF THE GREAT WAR
A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS

THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Conspicuous in the picture are:

John Hancock (seated).
Charles Thompson (clerk).
Benjamin Franklin (head).
Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
Thomas Jefferson.

From a painting by Arthur E. Becher.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

WILBUR FISK GORDY

CHAIRMAN OF THE HISTORY COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE. FORMERLY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

ILLUSTRATED IN BLACK AND WHITE AND COLOR FROM PHOTOGRAPHS, MAPS, AND PAINTINGS OF HISTORIC IMPORTANCE

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

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TO

THE SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS
OF TO-DAY

THE FUTURE CITIZENS OF THE
UNITED STATES

PREFACE

This book has two outstanding purposes. The first purpose is to help the boys and girls of our schools to discover America as it is to-day, in the first half of the twentieth century. This is a task of no small magnitude, for we have become a great people. During recent decades stupendous changes have been wrought in our economic and political life, and in our national ideals and institutions.

To aid the pupil in his search for this new America a special effort has been made to select and organize the events of the last fifty years in such a way that he may apprehend their full effect upon the nation as it has moved toward its present position as the most powerful country in the world. The events are organized in logical groups, or unities, and at the same time their chronological sequence is in large measure preserved. This method of organization, which is followed throughout the book, is of the highest value not only in arousing interest and stimulating thought but also in clarifying the meaning of events in their causal relationships.

Prominence is given to the expansion of our people westward from the earliest settlements along the Atlantic coast to the farthest limits of the free public land. For we must recognize that this westward movement, continuously modifying our economic and political life and making the American type of character distinctive and even unique in the world, has been the most powerful force in American life.

The book contains numerous suggestions, whose purpose is to stimulate those mental processes that must be called into play if history is to become dynamic and vital in the classroom. Of the many means employed to provoke thought and kindle the imagination, a few may be mentioned. In paragraph headings statements of central issues stand out in logical association with the discussion of large movements. At the close of every chap-

ter are presented questions, suggestions, problems, or projects that will help the pupil to interpret the facts of the text in terms of his own life and experience. Closely following the body of the text, also, are review plans for directed study by means of which the pupil will be able to reorganize his knowledge with the freshness and vigor of a new approach.

The second purpose of this book is to develop in the pupil a spirit of co-operation with others in patriotic service, and this purpose is best carried out by presenting great and good men and women as examples worthy of imitation. Whenever possible, therefore, strong and masterful leaders of great movements and those who have been central figures in important situations have been made prominent with the confident belief that in no other way can an appeal so effectively be made to the sympathetic imagination and through this to the heart and the will of the pupil.

In the treatment of all phases of the national life and in the discussion of all public questions a sincere effort has been made to tell the truth with no partisan bias and in a spirit of fairness and justice to all.

Attention is called to the maps and illustrations, all of which, by reason of their educative value, will greatly reinforce the text.

In conclusion, I wish to express my deep obligation to Mr. Forrest Morgan, of the Watkinson Library, Hartford, and to Miss Elizabeth P. Peck, of the Hartford Public High School, both of whom have made many valuable suggestions; and especially to my wife, whose assistance has been invaluable.

Wilbur F. Gordy.

Hartford, Conn.

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TO 1789

The history of the United States of America is one of great adventures, of wonderful discoveries, and of heroic deeds.

The first white men to reach our shores were trying to find India, a country about which they knew little, except that it was said to be a land of marvellous riches. They found, instead, a country stretching from ocean to ocean, a full three thousand miles, holding in its keeping riches even more vast than the fabled wealth of India and of the Far East. Such a new country was ours, a veritable heart of a continent.

A struggle to possess it naturally followed, marked all along the way by the spirit of conquest and the will to do and to dare. Spain, Holland, England, and France, all entered into this struggle. At last, England secured supremacy. Thereby the United States became an English-speaking land, instilled with the customs and the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Even before this struggle ended the conquest of nature itself had begun. The shores, the rivers, the hills and valleys, the mountains, plains, and forests, called to the civilizing forces of strong men and women. The story of their advance sets before us in fascinating detail the making of a great nation. At first there were only a few weak settlements along the shores of the Atlantic—

Jamestown, St. Mary's, Plymouth, Salem. The sturdy pioneers of these settlements suffered untold hardships while wrestling with hunger, disease, and hostile Indians in the unhewn forests of the New World, but the free life amid primitive conditions developed a noble spirit of self-reliance and independence.

The land was found to be kind. It could be easily secured in extensive areas. By degrees the struggling settlements grew in size and number, and, grouped in thirteen colonies, they spread inland from the Atlantic coast. Here began our country's westward expansion, which was checked only by the shores of the Pacific.

At first the various colonies, with little interest in each other, lived separate lives. Then, common dangers, threatening the welfare and even the existence of the colonies, drew the colonists together for defense against their foes. They subdued their enemies and by degrees learned to work for the common good. Then came a time when the offensive policies of taxation and trade control of the mother country, England, forced the colonies to revolt. In this revolt they succeeded.

Having won independence as a people, they joined in a confederation for general government, which carried them a long step toward the formation of a permanent Federal Union under a national constitution. Thus were a few rustic communities, planted here and there in a strange land, transformed into a new nation, destined to play a leading part in the future of the world.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

A CONTINENT DISCOVERED AND A NATION FOUNDED

CHAPTER I

HOW AMERICA CAME TO BE DISCOVERED

Our history begins in the Old World.

The history of a nation is the story of the origin and growth of its people as they developed from their earliest beginnings. Although the history of some nations began thousands of years ago, the history of the United States, as we are accustomed to think of it, is less than five hundred years old. Yet, in tracing the beginnings of our institutions, we must go back to peoples of ages long gone by and of other lands; for our civilization is the outcome of the struggles of unnumbered generations and embraces not only their material achievements but also their intellectual, moral, and spiritual advancement.

The first peoples who made useful discoveries in the arts and sciences lived in Egypt and in various parts of Asia. The general fund of knowledge acquired by them was added to by the Greeks, who made valuable contributions from their own experience. Then the culture of the Greeks was handed down to their conquerors, the Romans, whose highly organized government spread its civilization throughout western Europe.

Civilization is threatened by barbarian invasions.

Roman civilization was guarded with great difficulty by the peoples in western Europe. The Roman legions had stood for centuries as a wall against the hordes of barbarians pushing westward from Asia; but when the empire began to fall to pieces the Romans could not hold back the invaders. Usually the barbarians exterminated the inhabitants of the lands they overran. When, however, they advanced

upon Rome, amazed with what they saw and content with victory, they ceased to plunder, and settled down in peace among the conquered. In western Europe, on the other hand, the heirs to Roman civilization made a successful stand against the invaders. This resistance is of special interest to us, because through it our ancestors in western Europe preserved for future generations the Christian religion and the best of Roman culture, which, in later years, were brought across the Atlantic by our forefathers and became an essential part of American life and thought.

How the Crusades give rise to new learning and desire for the luxuries of the Far East.

The period of European history with which our history is first definitely connected is the period following the Crusades. It is known as the Renaissance, which means rebirth, because with the knowledge brought back by the Crusaders came the revival of ancient learning. This helped to awaken to new life the countries of western Europe.

More than eight hundred years ago the first of the Crusades broke out between the Christians of western Europe and the Turks of western Asia. The Turks had gained control of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The Christians wished to win back these places, which were associated with the life of Christ and the early history of their church. The leading motive of the Crusaders was religion, although love of adventure and desire for trade carried many along the same route.

There were eight Crusades in all, lasting nearly two centuries (1095–1270). During these years great numbers of men who otherwise would not have left their home countries travelled to the East, and in Arabia, Persia, India, and China learned many new things. They found peoples who understood and applied arts of which they themselves knew nothing. The beautiful rugs, the soft silks and other rich fabrics to make into fine garments, the spices to add flavor to food, and the many comforts and luxuries of life to which the Crusaders were unaccustomed appealed to their fancy. When they brought these things back to western Europe a great demand for them arose, and gradually trade between the East and the West was established

Europe gave in exchange goods which her people had produced, such as grain, oil, wool, cloth, and leather. As the trading increased merchants amassed great fortunes.

The goods were brought by caravan and vessels mainly over three routes: one led by way of the Caspian and the Black Seas to Constantinople; another through the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates Valley to Antioch; and a third through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. All these routes ended at Genoa and Venice, rival cities in the trade with the East. From these two centres the goods were distributed over western Europe.

THE FOUR LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Marco Polo's wonderful account of Asia stirs the imagination.

Even before the Crusades closed (about 1270) European travellers had begun to make extensive explorations in Asia. The traveller of whom we have heard most was a Venetian, by name Marco Polo. Toward the end of the thirteenth century he went with his father and uncle, Venetian merchants, to the court of Kubla Khan, the ruler of the Mongols at Peking.

After living seventeen years with the Mongols, Marco Polo returned home and gave to the world an account of his travels and of what he had heard of the countries and islands of the Far East. Wonderful were the tales he told of golden palaces, of beautiful rivers crossed by marble bridges, and of countless treasures of gold, silver, and jewels. Although much that he wrote was not true, yet it increased interest in the lands of the Far East, and there was an ever-growing demand for the beautiful and costly goods brought from India, China, Japan, and other Oriental countries.

The closing of Eastern trade routes turns thought of people to other possible ways.

The rising nations of Europe were all eager for a share in the trade. But in 1453 the Turks captured Constantinople and cut off the most northern route. It was plain that if they should extend their sway over the whole of western Asia—and it appeared likely that they would—the other overland routes also would be closed to trade. The great commercial problem, then, was to find an ocean route to the East, and thus escape the dangers of overland traffic.

Prince Henry tries to overcome the ignorance and superstition of his time.

Portugal and Spain, the most powerful maritime nations at that time, naturally took the lead in the search for this all-water route; and Prince Henry of Portugal, "The Navigator," did perhaps more than any other man to aid in finding it. Portuguese sea-captains had already made some headway down the western coast of Africa. Prince Henry began to work out plans to sail still farther. But sailors were afraid to venture into the "Sea of Darkness," as the Atlantic was called. They believed that in this sea were terrible monsters waiting to devour them; that in the region of the equator was a belt of fire, where the water was steaming hot; and some even believed that the earth was flat and that any one who went too far might fall off the edge.

Prince Henry, with a desire to know the truth, tried to learn all that he could about these unknown regions. He founded a school where he gathered about him able teachers, along with seamen who wished to learn the art of navigation. He sent out sea-captain after sea-captain, each venturing a little farther than those who had gone before. In spite of his efforts, at the time of his death (1463) only about one-fourth the distance to the southern point of Africa had been explored.

Vasco da Gama finds an all-water route to India.

The man who finally reached this southern point was Bartholomew Diaz. In December, 1487, he discovered the headland of southern Africa, and called it the Cape of Storms. But the King of Portugal was so pleased with the good

EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
CATHAY
Black Sea
Constantinople
Genoa
Venice
Caspian Sea
Lisbon
Tabriz
Damascus
Baghdad
CANARY IS.
Alexandria
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Mecca
SPICE IS.
Indian Ocean
Equator
Cape of Good Hope
THE WORLD
as known in the Time of Columbus
Showing Eastern Trade Routes
SCALE OF MILES ALONG THE EQUATOR
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
Trade Route controlled by Venice
Trade Route controlled by Genoa
Middle Route
Known portion of Land is unshaded

news of the discovery that he said: "It shall be called, not the Cape of Storms, but the Cape of Good Hope." In fulfilment of his hope, ten years later (1497) another Portuguese sea-captain, Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and continued his voyage eastward until he reached a port on the western coast of India. The following year he brought back to Lisbon a rich cargo of silks, damask robes with satin linings, and jewels, together with cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg, pepper, and other spices. The all-water route from Europe to the Far East had at last been found.

Columbus conceives the bold plan of sailing westward to India and receives aid from Queen Isabella.

Before Portugal had reached the goal, other nations were in the field. Spain, her closest rival, achieved success through Christopher Columbus. He was born in Genoa, and had followed the sea from boyhood. At the age of perhaps thirty-five he had become a distinguished mariner and was making his home in Lisbon. Here were many sailors from whom he must have learned the latest news of the voyages which the Portuguese had made in their attempt to round the southern point of Africa. Indeed, he is said to have been himself on one of these voyages, and also to have sailed as far north as Iceland in the opposite direction.

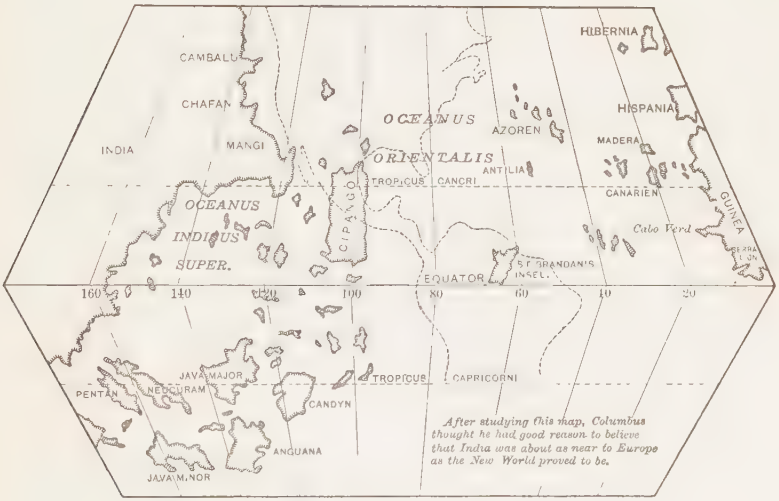
Columbus felt sure that there was a shorter way to India than the route around Africa, a distance of ten thousand miles. It was already known that there was water to the east of Asia. Since there was water to the west of Europe and the earth was round, which he believed with many geographers of his day, he reasoned that by sailing straight across the Atlantic Ocean he could reach India and, possibly, other lands. He estimated the distance to be about four thousand miles. The more Columbus pondered over the plan the more he longed to carry it out. At length he applied to King John of Portugal for assistance, but the king refused him.

Then he sought aid in Spain, where, after seven years of anxious waiting, he enlisted the interest of Queen Isabella, who took up his cause, believing she saw an opportunity to convert the heathen. With a little fleet of three small vessels, not larger

than many of the fishing-boats of to-day, on August 3, 1492, he sailed out of the port of Palos with one hundred and twenty men and provisions for a year.

The discovery of America is an accident in the search for India.

Only a brave man would have dared such an adventure into the unknown. When the sailors lost sight of land they were overcome with fear. Their fear changed to despair. They talked of throwing Columbus overboard, but he was determined to carry



THE TOSCANELLI MAP, 1474.

out his purpose. Sometimes he heartened the sailors with promises of wealth and fame; and again he threatened them with punishment from the Spanish king. His courage never failed.

At last, after a voyage of ten weeks, land was discovered, October 12,[1] 1492. Clad in a full suit of armor and bearing the flag of Spain, Columbus landed in great pomp. Kneeling upon the ground, he offered thanks to God, and planted the royal banner. He was not in the East Indies, however, as he supposed,

[1] October 21 by the present method of reckoning.

but on one of the Bahama Islands. He called it San Salvador[1] (Holy Saviour). Coasting along the shores of Cuba and Haiti, he landed here and there, and sent parties inland to search for the rich cities of Asia, which he had set out to find. Believing that he was in the East Indies, he called the natives Indians.

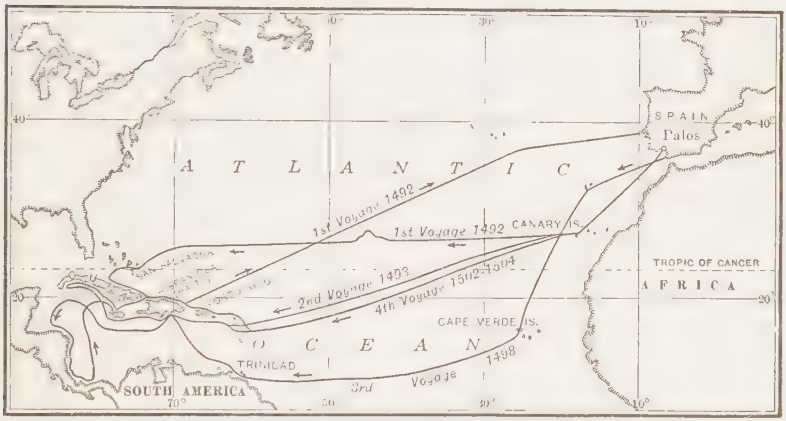
THE LANDING OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Other voyages by Columbus lead to apparent failure.

When Columbus returned to Spain, taking with him some of the natives, there was great enthusiasm over his discovery. It was easy now to find sailors and vessels for a second voyage, which he made in the following year (1493), planting a small settlement on the island of Hispaniola, now Haiti. Four voyages were made in all, in which, besides discovering many islands in the West Indies, Columbus sailed along the northern coast of South America and also along the eastern

[1] Now Watling Island.

shore of Central America. When, however, the adventurers did not find what they sought—silks, spices, gold and precious stones—they lost faith in Columbus. Some were jealous of him and sought to bring about his ruin. His enemies increased and his last days were spent in disappointment and neglect.



THE FOUR VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

Broken in spirit, he died fourteen years after his first voyage, ignorant of the greatness of his discovery.

The new lands are divided between Spain and Portugal by the pope.

Because of the discoveries made by Columbus for Spain and by other sea-captains for Portugal, it was feared there might be trouble between the two countries over the new-found lands. In 1493, therefore, a boundary-line—called the Line of Demarcation—was set by Pope Alexander VI, which in the following year was somewhat changed by a treaty. According to the boundary agreed upon, east of the line Portugal was to have the right to make voyages along the coast of Africa and onward to the East; while Spain, sailing to the west of the line, was to be free to explore and colonize the heathen lands in that part of the world. The powerful navies of these two countries were quite able to make good their claims.

England in search of northwest passage to India finds North America.

England, however, wished to have some share in the discoveries of new lands, and, in 1497, Henry VII sent out John Cabot, a Venetian merchant and sea-captain living in Bristol, England, to find a short northwest passage to India. Avoiding the south, where the ships of Spain and Portugal held their routes, John Cabot sailed westerly, landed on the coast of Labrador, and raised there the flag of England. He then sailed south for about three hundred leagues, including probably a voyage through and around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He was, therefore, the first to discover the mainland of the continent of North America. He claimed it in the name of England.

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.

The next year, his son Sebastian perhaps being with him, he made another voyage. We know nothing of this expedition, but, from what was put into the maps just afterward, it seems likely that the fleet sailed along the coast of New England, and possibly as far south as Florida. Upon the discoveries by Cabot England based her claims to North America.

How the new continent comes to be called America.

As the voyages of Columbus gave the first general knowledge of the New World, we should naturally expect that it would have been named after him. But, although he was the one who had led the way, many other navigators sailed for the West. Among them was Americus Vespucius, a Florentine. How many voyages he made and just when he made them, we do not know. Some believe that in 1501–1502 he skirted the coast of Brazil and perhaps a part of the eastern coast of South America to the south of Brazil. Afterward he wrote letters telling what he had seen in his voyaging, and his description was the first printed account of what he called the New World. A German professor, therefore, who published a little treatise on geography a few years later,

ENGLISH and SPANISH
VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY
SCALE ON EQUATOR
0 1000 2000 3000 Miles
Columbus, 1492
Cabot, 1497-1498
Vespucius, 1501
Magellan, 1519-1521
Drake, 1577-1580
NORTH
AMERICA
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
INDIAN
OCEAN
SOUTH
AMERICA
PACIFIC
OCEAN
GREENLAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
PHILIPPINE IS.
Magellan killed here
MOLUCCA IS.
AUSTRALIA
CANARS
SALVADOR
Cabot, 1497-1498
Vespucius, 1501
Drake, 1577-1580
Magellan, 1519-1521

suggested that the new-found land should be called America, after Americus Vespucius. Accordingly, the name America was first applied to Brazil, later to South America, and afterward to the whole of the New World.

Balboa sights an unknown ocean beyond the Isthmus of Darien.

Spanish posts were soon established in many places. At one of these on the Isthmus of Darien (now Panama) was an adventurer named Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. He had heard from an Indian chief that beyond the mountains lay a great sea, and that far to the south was a country rich in gold. Crossing the isthmus in that direction, he came to a headland from which he looked out upon the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean (1513). He called it the South Sea. This discovery is especially worthy of mention because it helped to confirm the theory that the land discovered by Columbus was not Asia, but a separate continent.

FERDINAND MAGELLAN.

As to the shape and size of this continent, vague and widely differing opinions were held. Some supposed it to be an immense island; others, a peninsula extending in a southeasterly direction from Asia. No one imagined it to be a continent larger than Asia. The mariner who was to bring knowledge of its vastness was Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese captain.

Magellan achieves a wonderful exploit in navigation.

In 1519, in command of a Spanish fleet, Magellan started on a voyage, hoping to reach Asia by way of a passage through America. After coasting down much of the eastern shore of South America, he sailed through the strait now bearing his name. Mutiny, starvation, and other hardships that would have driven back a less heroic man were bravely endured. He sailed for some distance up the western coast of South America, and then directed his course across the Pacific. He reached the Philippine Islands, where he was killed by the

natives; but a part of his men succeeded in finding their way around the Cape of Good Hope back to Spain. This was the most wonderful voyage that had ever been made, not only on

STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.

U. S. battleship fleet passing through the straits in 1907 on its world cruise.
After a painting in the Naval War College by Henry Reuterdahl, who accompanied the fleet.

account of its length and the new lands discovered, but because it proved that the earth was a globe and that America was a distinct continent.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Discuss the discovery of America in connection with the general movement of the people in Europe westward toward the Atlantic. Was the crossing of the Atlantic in later years simply another westward movement? Do you see any relation between this tendency of westward movement and the movement of European peoples to America? Bear this relation in mind as you study our colonial growth and the reasons for our movement westward.
2. Explain how the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans were teachers of the civilized world.

3. Discuss the importance of the Crusades. What effect did the Crusades have upon the desire for the products of the East? Explain the relation between them and the discovery of America.
4. Discuss why trade between Europe and the East was advantageous before the discovery of America. Why is trade between nations even more necessary now?
5. Trace on the map the eastern trade routes in the fifteenth century. What advantage did the control of the all-water route give to Portugal?
6. Explain why Columbus believed he could reach India by sailing across the Atlantic Ocean.
7. Why did sailors fear to venture into the "Sea of Darkness"?
8. During a storm Columbus, fearing that the ships might be lost, wrote a story of the voyage and placed it in a barrel, which was thrown overboard. Write such a story of the voyage as you think Columbus might have written. Trace this voyage on the map.
9. How did America receive its name? Was this fair to Columbus? Give reasons for your answer.
10. Discuss the distinctive work of Columbus. Of Americus Vespucius. Of Balboa. Of Magellan.
11. Read in Fiske's "Discovery of America" the very interesting account of Magellan's wonderful voyage. What do you admire in Magellan?

Readings for the Teacher and the Pupil: Gordy, *American Beginnings in Europe*, chaps. I, XIX, XX; Wright, *Children's Stories in American History*, chaps. V–VII; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 23–31; Higginson, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, 18–34; Colfin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, 17–21; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 417–446.

NOTE

Leif Ericson and the Northmen.—The old inhabitants of Norway were called Northmen or Norsemen. These people were bold and hardy seamen, and in the ninth and tenth centuries were famous as sea-robbers. On one of their expeditions for plunder and adventure they reached Iceland and on another Greenland, where they made settlements. The brave deeds of these old warriors were preserved in the so-called "Sagas," three of which tell us of the daring adventures of Leif Ericson in his wanderings in the year 1000 A. D. along the eastern coast of North America. As the story goes, this bold leader, with a crew of thirty-five men, sailed west and touched upon the coast of Labrador. Proceeding south from that point, he landed, built huts, and spent the winter near the coast. Finding vines hung with grapes, he called the country Vinland. But the Norsemen made no permanent settlements; nothing reliable can be found out about these early expeditions, and nothing of importance ever came of them.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW WORLD: ITS PEOPLE

Columbus finds a strange people in America.

The people Columbus found in America were very different from the Europeans with whom he was familiar. As we have said, he called them Indians,[1] and they have always been known by that name. Since they were to play a considerable part in the history of our country, it is desirable we should know what kind of people they were.

They included several distinct groups, or families, scattered in separate tribes over the vast stretches of the new continent. The forests teeming with fur-bearing animals, the well-watered plains sustaining countless herds of buffalo, and even the arid plateaus and deep mountain valleys of the Far West were all sparsely occupied by one race of people, who, although living in regions far apart, resembled one another in certain marked features. High cheek-bones, small black eyes, coarse black hair, and brown or reddish-brown complexions were common to them all; but in stature, in language, in dress, houses, and manner of life they differed according to the localities in which they lived.

The Indians living east of the Mississippi were divided by language and locality into three great families. First, there were the Southern, or Muskoki, Indians, who spread over the country extending from the Tennessee River to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic; the most important tribes were the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. Secondly, there were the Iroquois Indians, who included the Five Nations[2] in central New York, the Tus-

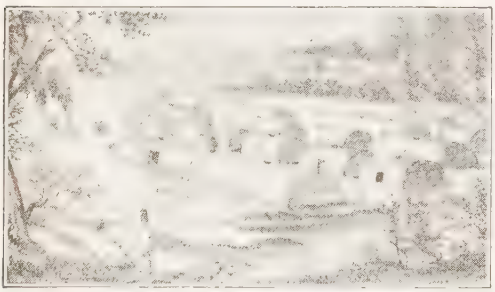
[1] At present there are about 250,000 Indians in the United States, and even when Columbus reached the New World very likely the natives north of Mexico did not number more than 500,000.

[2] The Five Nations included the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, who formed a loose confederacy.

caroras in North Carolina, the Cherokees farther south, the Hurons north of Lake Erie, and the Eries south of it. Thirdly, all the other tribes spreading northward from the Tennessee and eastward from the Mississippi were Algonquins. They included the Miamis, the Shawnees, the Delawares, the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, and many other tribes.

The dwellings of the Indians—the wigwam and the long house.

In general, the tribes lived in small villages, each, as a rule, having a few hundred people. Usually the villages consisted of wigwams occupied by single families. A wigwam was simple in construction. A few poles were planted in a circle, the small ends drawn together and fastened, and this framework was covered by skins, mats, or bark. At the top an opening was left to furnish a draft for the fire which was built in the centre of the wigwam, and also to allow smoke to escape. Over the entrance a flap of skins was hung in winter to shut out the cold. Often a village was surrounded by a stockade, that is, by a row of closely planted poles.



INDIAN VILLAGE, SHOWING A "LONG HOUSE."

In the warmer climate of the South the shelters were less compactly built, while among the more closely federated Iroquois Indians the "long house" was the form of dwelling in use. These structures were, as their name indicates, long buildings, in some cases one hundred feet in length, consisting of a double row of rooms about sixteen by eighteen feet in size, separated by a common corridor in which there were fires at regular intervals. The framework was of poles or saplings and this was covered with strips or shingles of bark. The houses were occupied by separate clans of the tribe, each under the control of a matron of the clan.

Their division of work.

Although the Indian was a true child of nature, with a wild love of freedom, his life was not, as some have supposed, an idle one. Hunting and fishing were his chief occupations, these being the necessary means by which he obtained his food. But the Indian brave was first of all a warrior. He had to defend his hunting-grounds and ward off attacks of hostile tribes; and sometimes he took the war-path for his own gain. When not following the war-path or the chase, he had to make his weapons. They were mainly the bow and arrow, the war-club, and the tomahawk. He also required canoes and snow-shoes for covering distance, and these, with other necessary conveniences or tools, he made with his own hands.

INDIANS, WIGWAMS, BOW AND ARROW, PIPE, AND WAR-CLUBS.

The squaw, too, led a busy life. Digging with shells and pointed sticks, she cultivated the soil and gathered the crops. These were more varied in the South than in regions farther north, for the climate was warmer and more attention was paid to a rude kind of agriculture. Indian corn was the chief crop, but tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, and tobacco were also raised. Besides cultivating the soil, the squaw dried the meat brought home from the chase and dressed the skins, making from them moccasins and other wearing apparel, for the hunt supplied clothing as well as food. She also rudely fashioned the simple household utensils, gathered wood, made fires, cooked the food, and set up the wig-

wam when on the trail, for the brave was supposed to be busy providing game or guarding against the enemy.

Life might have been easier for the Indian if there had been horses to draw his heavy loads and to assist him in big hunts; but up to the time when the white men came, the natives in North America had no domesticated animal except the dog. This faithful companion of civilized man was used sometimes for drawing heavy loads, sometimes for food, and sometimes as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials.

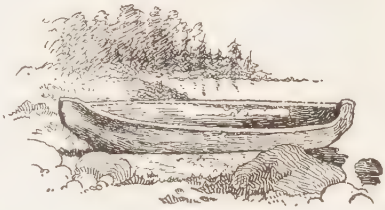
How the Indians travel and trade.

Whether on the hunt or on the war-path the canoe was a necessary convenience. Where we use horse, steamboat, or railroad, the Indian had only his canoe. In travelling by land, he followed the trail of the deer or the buffalo, but distances were so much more easily covered by water that he travelled ten miles on water to one on land. Between the waterways he had to carry the canoe over portages, or carrying-places, and as it was often loaded with furs and other goods, it had to be both strong and light. Such was the birch-bark canoe, which sometimes carried its owner and sometimes was carried by him. It was made by stripping off the bark of the birch in one piece and carefully fitting it over a light wooden frame. The snow-shoe was three or four feet in length, curved and tapering, enabling the wearer to skim easily along the surface of the snow at the rate of forty miles a day. In trading, the Indian used wampum as we do money. It consisted of strings of small beads made from shells, and was often wrought into belts that were used in declaring war and in making peace—also for personal adornment.

A BIRCH-BARK CANOE.

SNOW-SHOES.

Their government based on the tribe and the clan. The Indians had no stable system of government as we understand government to-day. The largest group, or family, was separated according to language into distinct tribes, and by relationship the tribe was separated into clans. Some tribes were more strongly bound together than others; in such tribes every clan selected a sachem, or a civil ruler, and at least one war-chief, who was chosen for his military prowess. But there was no force to compel one tribe to assist another in warfare.



A DUGOUT.

Their possessions held in common. Among the Indians the holding of land as property was unknown. The tribes occupied certain regions, but did not own them in the sense in which we now own land. Although they were for the most part permanently established in certain localities, when occasion required or the opportunity seemed favorable, they shifted their hunting-grounds to new quarters. Except for such personal objects as weapons, trinkets, and clothing, however, they held all their possessions, including land, in common. Even the food obtained by hunting or by the rude culture of the soil was shared, and all dried food was kept in a common storehouse.

Their characteristics were primitive. The instincts of the Indian were untrained, but he could be kind and generous. In the midst of famine he would cheerfully share his last morsel with a fellow sufferer, and in the hour of danger would lay down his life for a friend. He was also capable of lofty ideas of right and duty, and frequently gave proof of them in making and keeping treaties and in the beautiful and poetic expression of his thoughts.

Their belief in the after-life. The Indian had faith in good and bad spirits, but had no clear idea of one God over all. He believed that Indians, good and bad, would after this life go to the happy hunting-grounds. This was his name for

heaven, where life, he believed, would continue with the same occupations as in this world. It is thought that the practice of scalping enemies killed in battle was associated with the belief that the loss of the scalp prevented the spirit from entering the happy hunting-grounds. The Indian would, therefore, take almost any risk to save the dead body of his chief or his friend from being scalped by the enemy. It was a common practice to bury arms with the "brave," so that he might have them in the happy hunting-grounds. That he might lack no means of comfort other articles of common use also were buried with him.

Some leading Western tribes in the land of the buffalo.

Of the tribes west of the Mississippi the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Cheyennes Indians lived in the region between the Saskatchewan River and the Arkansas. They were first of all hunters and warriors, and depended largely for their food upon the buffalo, of which millions at that time roamed over the Western plains. Life and industries were almost wholly related to the buffalo, for it furnished not only meat for food but hides for clothing and sinews for thread. As a rule, therefore, these Indians moved from place to place, following the herds, and for that reason made very little advance in agriculture.

HUNTING BUFFALO.

Their dwellings varied according to the location and the season. In the woodlands, they were cone-shaped like a tent and were made of saplings, with a covering of brush, bark, or skins. On the plains, they were earth lodges in winter and tepees in summer. The earth lodges were made by scooping a shallow, circular hole in the ground and then covering this with a cone-shaped roof of poles, over which was placed brush, or mats, or

A CHIEF IN FULL DRESS.
After a painting by E. A. Burbank.

often earth. The tepees were shaped like a tent and made of long poles tied together at the top and covered with a skin or canvas wrapping. They were put together so lightly that they could be carried from place to place, and in this respect were unlike the wigwams in the East, which were more snugly built for permanent use. The Sioux Indians had few household utensils, and these were crude. Basketry and the making of rude pottery were the leading industries.

A Southwestern tribe further advanced in the art of living.

Far to the southwest of the Sioux were the Pueblo Indians, deriving their name from their peculiar dwellings, *pueblo*, meaning village. They lived in the region that is now Arizona and New Mexico. Here the land was by nature arid, but the natives brought water down in artificial ways from the near-by cliffs and mountains, and made the soil very fertile. By an extensive use of this method of irrigation they raised large quantities of Indian corn, as well as garden crops of pumpkins, beans, and other vegetables. The man worked the soil, while the squaw busied herself with such household industries as weaving and the making of pottery.

The Pueblo dwellings were built of adobe, or clay baked in the sun. They were a kind of apartment-house, village, and fort all in one; hence the name applied equally to the dwelling and to the tribe. One famous pueblo—Pueblo Zuñi—was so large that it could house five thousand people. Some had two stories,

A CHEYENNE CHIEF.
After a painting by E. A. Burbank.

some four, and others even seven. Each story was set back a little from the one below, so that the roof of the first became the sidewalk, or street, of the second, and so on to the top.

To enter his dwelling it was necessary for the Pueblo Indian to climb by ladder to the top, and let himself in through the

© *Detroit Photographic Co.*

A PUEBLO VILLAGE, NEW MEXICO, ENCHANTED MESA IN THE DISTANCE.

These mesas are elevations marking the former level of the country, most of which has been washed away by the spring floods during thousands of years, leaving these table-like formations.

roof. This kind of building was adopted for defense, because in the arid plains, where there were no forests or other natural protection against hostile raiding bands, the entrance from above made attack more difficult, while the height of the structure supplied a lookout against surprises by the enemy. Sometimes the pueblos were perched high in a canyon, partly concealed in a niche of the cliff and approached by a difficult trail. The tribes living in these strongholds were called cliff-dwellers. They were probably the weaker or less warlike tribes, who thus tried to make themselves secure from attack.

AZTEC JAR FROM ESTANZUELA, MEXICO, AND TERRA-COTTA FIGURES FOUND AT IZTLAN, MEXICO.

The Incas in Peru and the Aztecs in Mexico show the greatest advance toward civilized ways of living.

Of the natives whom the early explorers found in the New World, the Incas of Peru and the Aztecs of Mexico had made the greatest advance toward civilized ways of living and working. The Incas, by a wide use of irrigation, had made considerable progress in agriculture. They raised crops of Indian corn, and also grew potatoes and fine cotton. Living high on the plateau of the Peruvian Andes, they planted their gardens in terraces on the mountainsides, as is done in the hill towns of Italy to-day. Even more remarkable than their gardens and crops were their wonderful roads. These were broad, level, and well constructed, and extended for miles

INCA RUINS—PART OF THE OUTER WALL OF THE ANCIENT FORTRESS AT CUZCO, PERU.

up and down the mountains and along their sides. They were evidently intended for military uses, for at intervals were stationed storehouses for provisions and arms. All this construction in so mountainous a country involved enormous labor, and suggests the power of a strong ruling class.

The sources of the wealth of the Incas lay deep in the sides of their mountains. Large quantities of gold and silver were mined, and out of these precious metals were fashioned beautiful dishes, vases, and ornaments, which were lavishly used in their temples of worship. The Inca temples, like their dwellings, were simple structures of stone, the dwellings resembling those of the Pueblos. Their skilful carvings of wood and stone and the making of pottery also showed their progress in civilization.

Though differing in some respects, the Aztecs, who lived in Mexico, had reached about the same stage of culture. They depended mainly upon agriculture and raised large crops, but they also carried on considerable manufacturing and trade. Like the Incas, they built stone houses of the pueblo type by the use of stone tools. Their roads, however, which were used both for military purposes and for trade, were not much more than Indian trails. They were skilful in carving wood, in making pottery with beautiful ornamentation, and in working in gold and silver. Other industries were featherwork and the making of weapons. The Aztecs had also made some progress in picture-writing.

Contact with the Indian greatly modifies the character of the white settler.

The presence of the Indians on this continent had a marked influence on the white settlers, especially during the period before the Revolution, when the settlements were only a fringe along the Atlantic coast. There were times when the Indians saved struggling settlers from starving. They taught the settlers how to raise corn and potatoes and tobacco, and made them acquainted with the deer, the wild turkey, and the small game of the forests. They showed them how to build the wigwam and the birch-bark canoe; how to track a foe through the forest; and even how to fight behind trees instead of standing in line out in the open. It is not too much to say that the frontiers-

man, who came to be the typical American, with his qualities of self-sufficiency, self-confidence, and independence, his determination to achieve against many discouraging natural conditions, his perseverance against adversity of all kinds, owed much of his character and success to imitation of the Indian either as friend or foe. In meeting the conditions found in his continuous advance westward the white man had to become adaptable and inventive in his struggle for existence.

However, it was as enemies that the red men made themselves most keenly felt; for when they realized that they could not occupy the land together with the white settler, whose mode of living robbed the Indians of their hunting-grounds, they bitterly opposed the encroachments of the white race and stood as a relentless barrier to its progress westward from the Atlantic coast.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Illustrate by model the difference between a tepee and a Pueblo adobe. In what respects were the dwellings of the Sioux Indians and of the Pueblo Indians unlike? How were these adapted to their manner of living?
2. In what respects were the Aztecs and the Incas superior to the Indians east of the Mississippi?
3. Why did the absence of such animals as horses and oxen retard the progress of the Indians?
4. Discuss the influence of the Indians upon the colonists.
5. Topic for discussion: The white men were justified in taking the Indian's lands and hunting-grounds from him.
6. What could the Indians do after the land had been cleared and they were no longer able to make their living by hunting?
7. Read the first chapter at least of Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac." Parkman is our great romantic historian on the French and Indians in North America. Read all you can from his books. Also read Longfellow's "Hiawatha" for the romance of Indian life.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wright, *Children's Stories in American History*, chap. III; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 82–97, 114–124, and II, 323–330; Ellis, *Red Man and White Man*; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 11–21; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 13–20; Farrand, *Basis of American History*.

POETRY: Longfellow, *Hiawatha*.

CHAPTER III

HOW SPAIN AND ENGLAND MAKE EXPLORATIONS AND ESTABLISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA (1492–1588)

A. Why Spain Fails as a Colonizer

Spanish explorers are lured to America by tales of marvellous treasure.

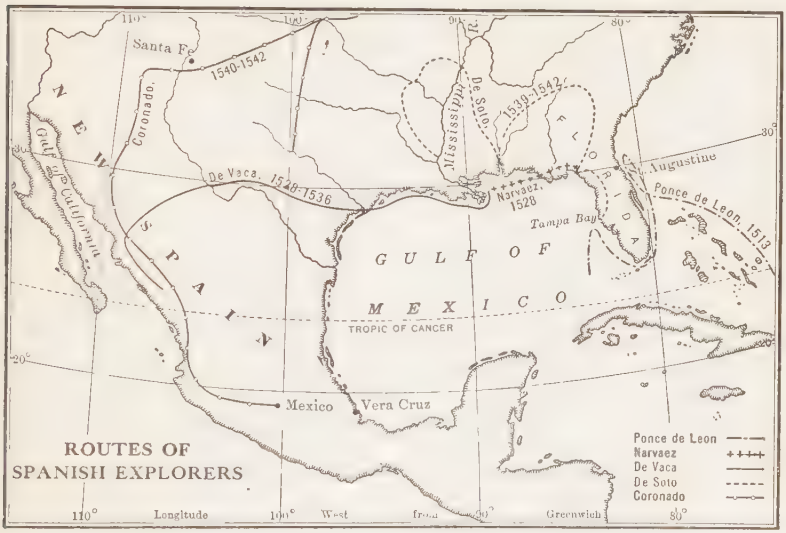
Leaving for a while the Indians, we will turn back to Columbus and the interest awakened in the new highway of travel and exploration and follow briefly the fortunes of some of the Spanish explorers who sailed in the early part of the sixteenth century. Spain was at that time the greatest political power in Europe. She had a strong navy, manned by daring seamen, and she was ambitious to extend her rule over those parts of the world not already under the control of other European nations.

Although the early explorers had made it known that the new land was not the East Indies, many still believed that it was but a barrier to be crossed on the way. Voyages continued to be made, therefore, by Spaniards from Hispaniola and the West Indies to the near-by coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, and to the north and south of it, with the expectation of discovering a water route through the land, and also of finding great wealth in gold and silver. For everywhere the Indians told of marvellous treasures far inland. These stories fired the imagination of the Spaniards, who were willing in their feverish search for gold to endure almost any hardship.

De Leon discovers a land beautiful with flowers (1513).

Among the first of the fortune-hunters to explore the mainland of what is now the United States was Ponce de Leon, who had accompanied Columbus on his second expedition. He had remained in the New World and had become governor of the Spanish settlement at Porto Rico. The natives told him not only of rich gold-mines but of a won-

derful fountain in the land of the north, the drinking of whose waters would restore the vigor of youth. Hopefully De Leon led an expedition from Porto Rico northward in search of the



gold and the fountain. He found neither, but discovered, on Easter morning (1513), a land beautiful with flowers, and called it Florida.[1]

Cortez conquers Mexico (1519–1521); Pizarro conquers Peru (1531–1533).

Among the most brilliant of the Spanish explorers was Hernando Cortez. Strong and forceful, he was chosen as a suitable commander for an expedition from Cuba to Mexico. Although he had orders to confine himself to exploration, his mind was set on conquest. He landed in Mexico in 1519, and in less than two years subdued the country and made it a Spanish province. Through this conquest untold wealth of gold and silver bullion poured into the Spanish treasury.

About ten years later another Spaniard, Pizarro, who had been

[1] He named it Florida from Pascua Florida, the Spanish name for Easter Sunday.

a companion of Cortez in Mexico, carried on a similar campaign against the Incas of Peru. He was at that time a resident of Panama, one of the Spanish settlements which had grown up on the Isthmus of Darien since the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa. He was remarkable for courage even in that heroic age of adventure, but his success was stained by cruelty and

CORONADO AT WALPI, ONE OF THE MESA VILLAGES OF ARIZONA.

treachery. By 1533 he had made Peru a Spanish province. Peru, like Mexico, yielded Spain vast quantities of gold and silver, which greatly aided her in carrying on war with other European powers.

Coronado searches for the seven wonderful cities (1540–1542); De Soto explores Florida and discovers the Mississippi (1539–1541).

Another Spanish expedition, composed of Spaniards from Mexico and Mexican Indians, was led by Coronado. They marched northwest from Mexico in 1540 in search of seven wonderful cities in a land rich with gold, about which they had heard exciting stories. The cities proved to be nothing more than Indian pueblos, yet in the course of their long, exhausting

journey the explorers marched through much of the region included in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Kansas.

An equally noted explorer, who sought a kingdom of gold, was Hernando de Soto. He had been a trusted officer of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, and holding in mind the wealth of that country and of Mexico, he was bent upon finding another such kingdom in the heart of the country.

In 1539, with about 600 men and 200 horses, De Soto sailed from Cuba, and landed on the west coast of Florida. In his fruitless search northward and westward he came to the Mississippi River, and went even many miles beyond it. For two years he and his men hopelessly wandered, suffering untold hardships from the wildness of the country and the savage tribes with whom they came in contact, until at last, worn out and sick at heart, De Soto died. He was buried in the great river which he had discovered (1541). His surviving companions sailed down the Mississippi and found shelter in the Spanish settlements which Cortez had planted in Mexico.

The Spaniards drive the Huguenots out of Florida and establish St. Augustine (1563–1565).

For more than twenty years after De Soto's failure the Spaniards made no further efforts in Florida. In the meantime a bitter religious war was going on in France between the Catholics and the Huguenots, or French Protestants. Under the leadership of Gaspard de Coligny some Huguenots, to escape persecution, sailed in 1562 to America and planted a colony where Port Royal, South Carolina, now stands. When the first colony failed, another under better leadership was sent out in 1564. They built a fort not far from the mouth of the St. John's River, Florida.

But Spain had several claims upon Florida: (1) By right of discovery through Columbus; (2) by the explorations of De Leon and De Soto; and (3) by the pope's decree, which assigned that part of the uncivilized world to Spain.

The King of Spain, therefore, was indignant that the French should make any settlement there, and sent out a force to destroy them. This Spanish force, under the command of Menendez, landed in Florida in 1565 and built a stronghold which

later became the settlement of St. Augustine. Then they marched across the country, and by surprise and treachery destroyed the Huguenot settlement. After this unpleasant experience the French made no further attempt to plant colonies in the southern part of what is now the United States.

The Spanish establish extensive missions.

Although Spain ruthlessly destroyed the Huguenots, she zealously carried on a religious enterprise of her own in the New World through her missionaries, who were earnest and tireless in their labor for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. In the missions of Mexico, Indian boys were taught in workshops many industries, such as tailoring, building, blacksmithing, tool-making, and painting. Also, among the wilder Indians living in territory conquered by Spain faithful missionaries went and by degrees gathered them into villages and won them over to Christianity and habits of work. Each mission was really a kind of industrial school where the Indian had to cultivate a plot of ground for himself, besides working for two hours a day on the village farm for the support of the church. By 1574 such missions could be found in all parts of Spanish America, from California to Chile. According to a careful estimate the Spanish population in the New World in that year was more than 150,000, and the number of Indians in the regions controlled by Spain was about 5,000,000, most of whom had come under the teaching of friars and priests.

SPANISH GATEWAY, ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA.

Why the Spanish fail in North America.

Had Spain's colonizing instinct been equal to her missionary zeal, she might have built up a Spanish Empire in America. But her people did not come to the New World with any desire for a better social and political order than they had known at home. Nor did they come in large numbers to make permanent settlements. Their main object was to accumulate wealth and glory for their church, their state, and themselves.

Although in part successful, they missed a wonderful opportunity, and their work in North America did not endure. Even in those countries of South America where Spanish settlements were permanent, only a small part of the population was Spanish. When, therefore, in more recent times those colonies revolted from Spain and became independent republics, the few Spanish residents were the only people intelligent enough to administer the government. The ignorance of so large a part of the population explains the fact that these Spanish-American republics have progressed slowly in their political ideals and in their democratic government.

OLD SPANISH MISSION, NEW MEXICO, BUILT 1604.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. There are some dates which you should know as well as the alphabet. One of these is 1492. Just about fifty years later De Soto, the last Spanish explorer of note, discovered the Mississippi River.
2. 1492–1542. Memorize these dates and remember that Balboa, De Leon, Cortez, Pizarro, and all the other Spanish explorers, did their work at some time within these fifty years. Exactly when, it is not important to know.
3. Give reasons why so many Italians were found among the early explorers.
4. What advantages over England did Spain have in the New World? To answer this question you should compare Spain's objects of colonization with those of England. Why did Spanish colonization fail in what is now the United States? You may well notice that after establishing St. Augustine Spain practically dropped out of the struggle among European countries to colonize that part of North America which is now our own country.

5. How do you account for the fact that the territory now comprising the United States was considered of little value by the Spaniards? Name the countries of the American continent that were founded by Spain or were under Spanish control for a long period of time.
6. Write for five minutes on such topics as the following: De Soto's expedition, the Huguenots in Florida, or the Spanish missions in America.
7. If you will make constant use of your map you will get clearer ideas of events and of their relation to one another.
8. Read Munroe's "Flamingo Feather," a story of the Huguenots in Florida.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 274–293; Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru;* Wright, *Children's Stories in American History*, chaps. VIII, X–XIII; Gordy, *American Beginnings in Europe*, 261–277; Higginson, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, chaps. IV–VI.

FICTION: Henty, *By Right of Conquest;* Wallace, *The Fair God;* Munroe, *Flamingo Feather;* Munroe, *The White Conqueror.*

B. Why England Succeeds as a Colonizer

England's claim to America is established by the defeat of the Armada.

Spain was not left alone, even at the height of her power, in her occupation of the New World. Her supremacy was actively contested by England, who advanced a claim to North America based upon the discoveries of John Cabot. But England was not then a great nation and could not openly oppose Spain, whose unconquered fleets sailed far and wide over the seas. English explorers, therefore, avoided that part of America to which Spain laid claim. They directed their efforts chiefly to discovering a northwest passage to Asia, because they too regarded America at that time as only a barrier between Europe and Asia.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, however, conditions changed. In 1567 the Netherlands, then under the rule of Spain, revolted, and for forty-two years carried on war with that country. In this war, which was largely religious, England took sides with the Netherlands. Thus Spain, having to contend with two countries at once, suffered a constant drain on her

strength, and received blows from which she never recovered. Her mighty fleet of war-vessels,[1] the "Invincible Armada," as it was proudly called, met with a crushing defeat at the hands of English seamen in 1588. From that date England's naval power steadily increased.

English sea-rovers harass the Spanish treasure ships.

Already English explorers had ceased to confine themselves to the northern ocean. They cruised even in waters that Spain claimed as hers alone, and when it became known that Spain depended largely on the gold and silver[2] from

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA BY THE ENGLISH.

Mexico and Peru for carrying on her wars, the knowledge supplied a new and powerful motive for English voyagers. To cut off the supply of these precious metals, bold sea-captains like

[1] The Invincible Armada consisted of 130 war-ships, carrying 2,500 cannon and about 30,000 men. Philip II, the Spanish king, expected to humble England with this fleet.

[2] It has been estimated that the gold and silver Spain got from America would be now valued at $5,000,000,000.

Drake[1] and Hawkins scoured the sea in search of Spanish vessels. They cruised about the coasts, burned and plundered Spanish fleets and settlements, and did great injury to Spain through her colonies in South America and Mexico.

Sir Walter Raleigh attempts to colonize America (1584–1587). To establish a base for operations, a project was formed in 1578 to plant on the coast of America an English military post, from which attacks might be made upon Spanish fleets. The promoter of the project, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, failed, but the idea of making a settlement in America found a lodging-place in the English mind. A few years later Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh,[2] determined upon another effort. Obtaining a patent from the queen, he sent out an expedition of two vessels to make explorations and to select a suitable landing-place for settlement. The explorers returned with glowing accounts of the new land and its people, and Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with the reports of the new country that she called it Virginia in honor of herself, the "Virgin Queen."

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

The following year Raleigh, with the expectation of planting a permanent settlement, sent out one hundred colonists. They landed on Roanoke Island, but the ships that brought them had hardly sailed back to England before the unfitness of the men for colonization became apparent. Instead of building houses and cultivating the soil, they gave themselves over to the search for gold, and the experiment failed.

[1] Sir Francis Drake was one of England's famous navigators and admirals. In 1577 he set sail from England with five vessels; in 1580 he returned with but one. In the meantime he had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, as Magellan's men had done sixty years before, and sailed entirely around the world. He was the first English sea-captain to accomplish this great undertaking.

[2] Sir Walter Raleigh, born in 1562, was in his own time rightly called the "Great Englishman," for he ranked high as historian, navigator, soldier, and statesman.

Yet Raleigh did not lose hope. Two years later he tried again. He sent out a larger number of settlers, including women and children. Governor White was the leader, and he settled at Roanoke; however, he was soon compelled to return to England for supplies, where he found all the people astir in preparation for the attack about to be made by the Spanish Armada. As every man and vessel was needed to fight the coming enemy, three years passed before Governor White sailed again for Roanoke. The settlement had disappeared, and not one of the colonists was ever found.

Raleigh had spent what was equivalent to more than a million dollars of our present money in these adventures which ended so disastrously. Although there remained no apparent result for this vast expenditure, his work was not a failure, for his efforts had suggested to England that the real wealth of America lay not in gold and silver, but in the opportunity it afforded for planting colonies which in time would become the foundation of a new English empire.

America furnishes a solution to England's industrial difficulties.

There was special need in England at that time for a relief from the crowded industrial conditions. The great demand for wool by Flemish weavers made wool-growing very profitable, and English landowners engaged largely in raising sheep instead of cultivating the soil. The result was that but one man was now required to watch sheep where formerly many had been needed to raise

wheat and barley. Large numbers of men were thrown out of work, and there was great distress among the working classes. The closing of the monasteries by Henry VIII, a few decades earlier, had had a similar effect, and the return of soldiers from European wars made the situation still worse. What to do with this large body of the unemployed was a serious problem. America seemed to furnish a solution, and to America men eagerly turned for help in the hour of England's need.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.
Painted by Federigo Zuccaro, National Portrait Gallery, London.

The colonizing ability of the English is a great feature in history.

The colonizing ability of the English, as shown during the last three centuries, is a great outstanding feature of history. Their ability found expression not only in America but, after England had become supreme on the sea, in widely scattered areas of the world. In almost every new land, except South America, they have planted colonies or assumed leadership, and have built up parliamentary or republican forms of government wherever they have unfurled their flag.

QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE.
After a drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R. A.

America remains the most luminous example of their colonizing instinct. Although immigrants to this country have come from many European lands, and

through intermarriage have enriched our racial heritage, we do not forget that the language and culture of the country remain English. The development of the American colonies into the leading republic of the world must far surpass the most extravagant dreams of those who planted the first English settlements on our shores.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. What bearing did the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" have upon English and Spanish history and also upon the colonization of America? Why was English colonization dependent upon naval supremacy? What difference might there have been in the history of North America had England not won this victory?
2. As this defeat is a well-known landmark in history, 1588 is another date you should know with certainty. You will notice that the great naval battle occurred about one hundred years after 1492. You will notice, also, that Raleigh's attempts to plant colonies took place only a short time before 1588.
3. If you will learn important dates like 1492 and 1588 and group about them others of less importance, you will remember your history much better.
4. Make a map showing why America was looked upon as a barrier between Europe and Asia. Why was this point of view taken? What value, if any, was placed upon America at that time?
5. Why can you say that Raleigh's work in America was not a failure? Discuss freely conditions that had come to prevail in England that placed a new value on America.
6. Indicate on a map of the world the position and the extent of the countries in which English is the spoken language. How do you account for this?
7. Read the life of Sir Walter Raleigh and also Scott's "Kenilworth" for impressions of life in England.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 41–44; Wright, *Children's Stories in American History*, chap. XVII; Gordy, *American Beginnings in Europe*, 310–317; Eggleston, *Our First Century*, 5–12; Higginson, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, chap. IX.

FICTION: Scott, *Kenilworth;* Henty, *Under Drake's Flag;* Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*

CHAPTER IV

LEADING COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA

A. The English in Virginia and Maryland (1607–1689)

Two large merchant companies receive a charter to colonize America (1606).

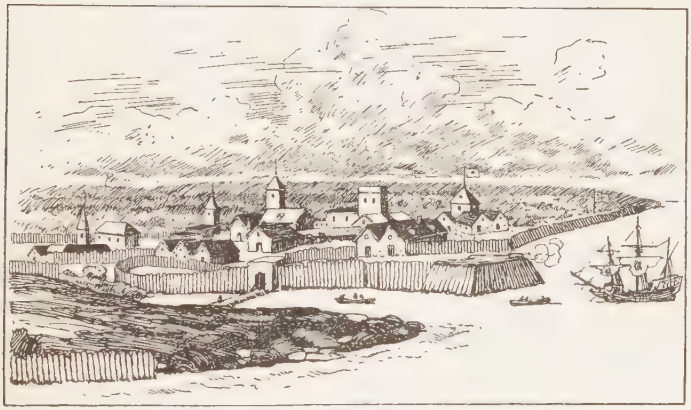
English settlements through personal enterprise had thus far failed. Lacking the money to go on, Raleigh assigned his interests to a number of merchants and capitalists, who, in 1606, received a charter from King James and formed two companies for colonizing America. One of these companies was in London, and was called the London Company. The other was in Plymouth, and was called the Plymouth Company.[1] The former was to occupy the land between 34 degrees and 38 degrees north latitude, extending from Cape Fear to the mouth of the Potomac River; the latter, that between 41 degrees and 45 degrees, extending from the mouth of the Hudson River to New Brunswick. The most notable provision of the charter was that the colonists, as citizens, should have the same rights and privileges in America which belonged to them as native-born Englishmen. It will be well to bear in

[1] The Plymouth Company sent out colonists in 1607 to make a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River, but they failed.

mind this principle of English charters, for later it becomes prominent in the causes of the American Revolution.

The first settlement at Jamestown becomes a tragedy (1607).

150 On New Year's day, 1607, the first colony, consisting of 105 men, set sail from London. About half of them were "gentlemen"; that meant in those days that they had never engaged in any gainful occupation. The other half consisted mostly of laborers, mechanics, and tradesmen. There were no farmers and no women in the new



JAMESTOWN IN 1622.
After an old print.

colony, for the colonists did not come to make homes and settle down to earning their living by patient labor. Like those Englishmen who had gone before them, they sought gold, just as had the Spaniards in Peru and Mexico. Such men were not suitable material for a successful colony.

151 In May they sailed up the James River and made their settlement. They called it Jamestown, in honor of the king, from whom they had received their charter. Being unfitted for their task, and for the most part a lazy, shiftless set, they did not look into the future. They were so idle and so slow in making their preparations that by the time they had provided shelter it was too late for the spring planting. Provisions became low,

and lack of food, together with fever, which followed in the warm, moist climate, rapidly thinned their ranks. At times there were hardly enough well persons to bury the dead. In about four months half the original number had died. Those who survived were discouraged, and their suffering was increased because they had to live in wretched dwellings, many of which consisted merely of shelters made from boughs of trees and some of nothing more than holes dug in the ground.

Smith saves the colony from perishing.

/61/ But for one courageous man, John Smith, all would probably have perished, for, added to their other trials, the Indians were a constant menace. Smith so managed them as to procure the necessary food for the colonists, but only enough to keep them from starving. Although more colonists joined the settlement, the newcomers were as unfit as those who came first, and only Smith's masterful hand held them together. In time, however, the colony became more secure, and Smith found opportunity to do some valuable exploring. While on one of his expeditions he sailed, in search of the Pacific, up the Chickahominy River,[1] where he was captured by the Indians and taken before their chief, Powhatan. Years after the event Smith told a thrilling story of the saving of his life by Powhatan's young daughter, Pocahontas. However much truth there may be in the romantic incident—and some historians seriously doubt it—Pocahontas[2] herself is an attractive character, and her relation to the colonists is full of interest.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

[1] North America at this time was supposed to be a narrow strip of land.

[2] A young Englishman, John Rolfe, fell in love with Pocahontas and married her. He took her to England, where she was treated with great kindness. Just as she was on the point of returning to America she died, leaving a son, who became a man of influence in Virginia. John Randolph, of Roanoke, Virginia, was one of her descendants.

A new governor arrives just in time to prevent the starving colonists from returning to England (1609–1610).

164 After two years of hardships had passed, 500 additional colonists came from England, but they were very much like those who had come before. Moreover, a new misfortune presented itself, for about this time Smith, having been wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun, was obliged to return to England. The colony was thus left without a leader, and the Indians, whom Smith had managed with great wisdom, took advantage of his absence to rob and plunder the settlement. Famine and disease aided the work of destruction, and at the close of that dreadful winter (1609–1610), long known as the "starving time," barely 60 of the 500 were alive. This miserable remnant was about to return to England when Lord Delaware, the newly appointed governor, arrived just in time to prevent their sailing away. This was in June, 1610. Affairs took a turn for the better, but Lord Delaware, on account of ill health, could not remain long in the colony.

Dale establishes individual ownership. Prosperity follows (1611–1616).

When Lord Delaware sailed for England, he left Sir Thomas Dale as acting governor. Dale was, like Smith, a vigorous and able ruler; but his methods were military. He not only flogged the unruly, but in one case he went so far as to sentence to death by starvation a man who had stolen food. Of course these severe measures made Dale unpopular, but a stern ruler was needed to put the colony on a stable footing.

Perhaps Dale's wisest act was the abolition of the common storehouse. This had been one of the greatest evils of the colony. The settler had no land of his own and was required to put the products of his labor into a common stock which all shared alike. The idlers knew that they would be fed and clothed whether they worked or not, and willingly allowed the industrious ones to support them. The reform which Dale began consisted of allotting three acres to each of the old settlers, requiring each settler to turn into the common stock two and one-half barrels of corn, and allowing him to keep the remainder

of his crop for himself. Under the new law the idle were compelled to work in order to live, and the thrifty were encouraged to produce all they could, knowing that they would receive the reward of their industry.

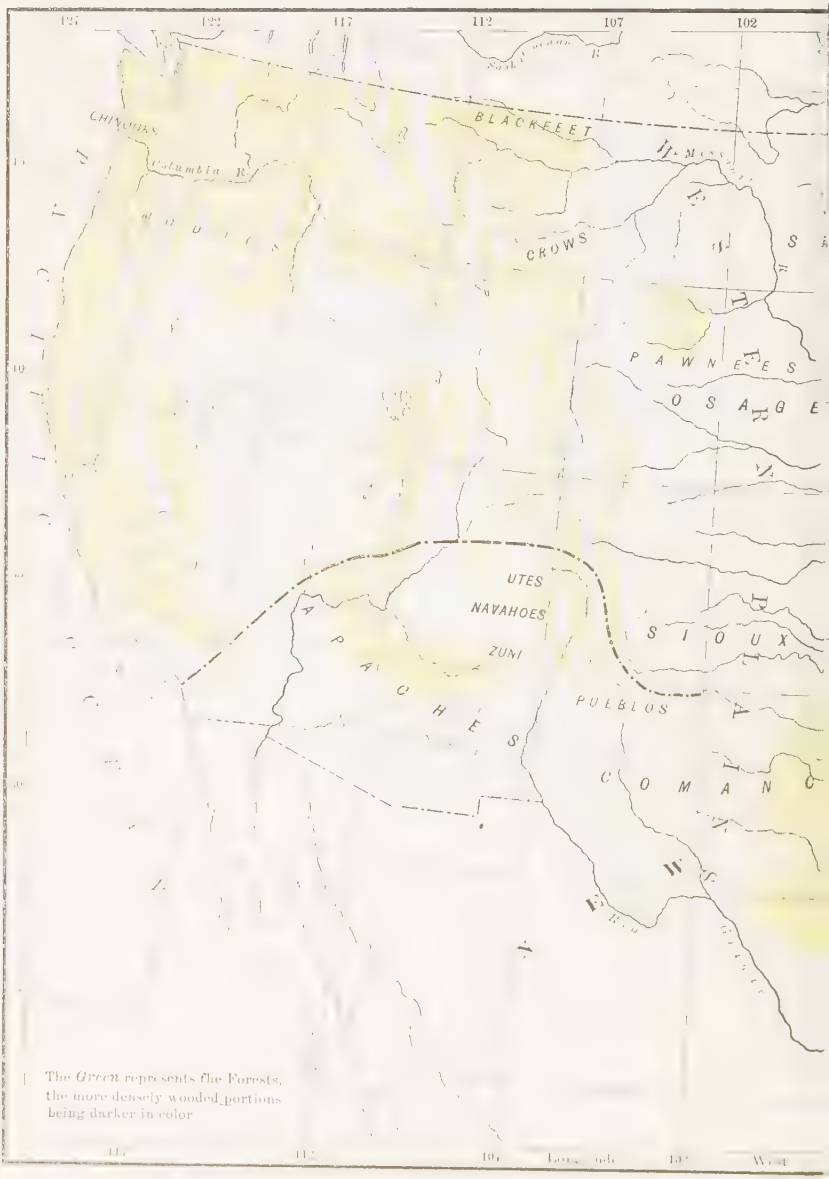
About this time, also, the colonists found that raising tobacco was profitable, the soil and climate being especially fitted for its growth. After 1616 it became the principal source of wealth. When farmers in England saw the advantages of life in Virginia, the success of the colony was assured.

The people obtain self-government (1619). Another reform was the granting of self-government. In the earlier years the people had little or no voice in the management of the colony. But in 1619 the company instituted a change, which provided for a representative assembly, consisting of two delegates from each of the eleven settlements. These settlements were called boroughs and the assembly was known as the House of Burgesses. The new government consisted of a governor, a council, and an assembly. This threefold government was modelled after the English system,[1] and furnished later a basis for our own state and national governments.

The private ownership of land and the culture of tobacco were two strong inducements to emigration; and when the people began to have a voice in making their laws and levying their taxes, Englishmen flocked to Virginia. Within a year the population increased from 600 to 4,000. Women came in increasing numbers, and family life was established.

The great need of labor is met by indentured servants and negro slaves. A different class of men now came to join the settlement. Men with families and capital were ready to plant homes where returns for labor were promising. The great need was for workers. To supply this need indentured servants were brought over. At first these were poor boys and girls who were bound to service until they became of age. Later came adult ser-

[1] The English Government consists of the king, House of Lords, and House of Commons. The cabinet, and not the king, is the real executive in England. The two houses constitute what is known as Parliament.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122
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CHINOOKS
Columbia R.
BLACKFEET
CROWS
PAWNEES
OSAGE
UTES
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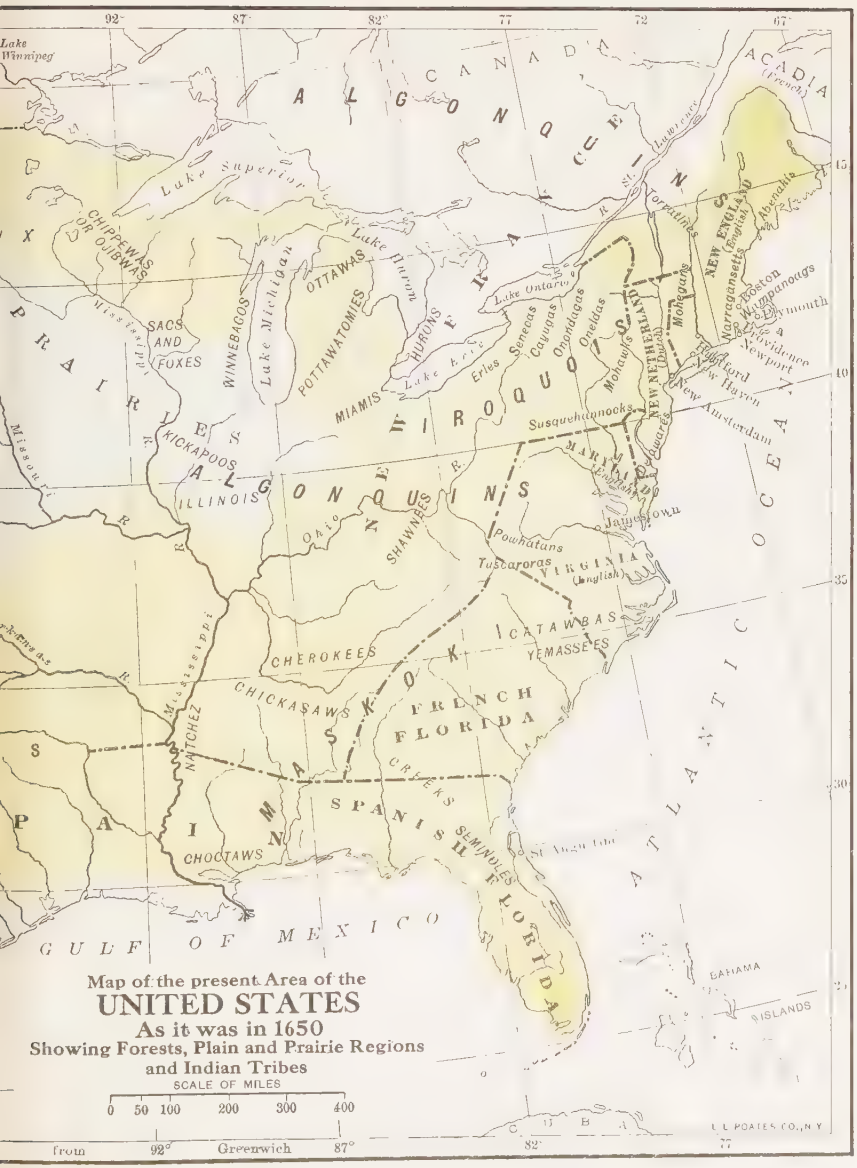
ZUNI
APACHES
PUEBLOS
COMANCHES
SIOUX
The Green represents the Forests, the more densely wooded portions being darker in color



Map of the present Area of the

UNITED STATES

As it was in 1650

Showing Forests, Plain and Prairie Regions and Indian Tribes

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400

from 92° Greenwich 87°

C. B. A.

E. E. POATES, CO., N. Y.

vants, required to serve a term of years to pay for their passage. Even these sources of labor did not supply Virginia's demand; for it frequently happened that the indentured servant, when free, himself became a landowner and required laborers.

Naturally, then, the slave-trader sought this inviting market. The first cargo of negro slaves had come to Virginia as early as

A PLANTER'S WHARF IN THE EARLIEST TIMES, WHEN TOBACCO WAS SHIPPED IN EXCHANGE FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS FROM ENGLAND.

1619. At that time able-bodied negroes could be bought on the coast of Guinea for a few shillings apiece. These negroes were packed so closely in the ship that hundreds of them could be brought in a single voyage. In Virginia they were sold for about the price of a good horse. Both to the slave-trader and the slave-owner the profits were enormous. It is interesting to observe that because the tobacco-grower needed cheap labor, which negro slavery supplied, tobacco was largely responsible for the introduction of negro slavery into Virginia.

Tobacco culture establishes plantation life.

Another result of tobacco culture was large plantations. It was found that tobacco quickly exhausted the soil. This led to taking up new land as soon as the old was worn out. So far as possible, each planter tried to secure his land on one of the many rivers. He could then have his own wharf from which to ship tobacco and receive in exchange manufactured goods from England. Under such a system, where each planter held thousands of acres of land, no large town could grow up, and life was wholly rural.

Berkeley's despotic government leads to Bacon's Rebellion (1676).

While the industrial life of the colony had been growing apace, government by the people was having some setbacks. In 1660, after the overthrow of the Commonwealth in England (see page 54), Charles II ascended the throne, and Sir William Berkeley for a second time[1] became governor in Virginia. He cared very little for the rights and wishes of the people, and there began, between the people on the one side and Berkeley's party[2] on the other, a struggle that grew more and more bitter until it ended in Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. As this rebellion had a definite bearing upon our later history, we will notice how it came about.

At this time the Virginia assembly no longer represented the wishes of the people, but, rather, the tyrannical ideas of Berkeley. Having found in 1660 a group of men

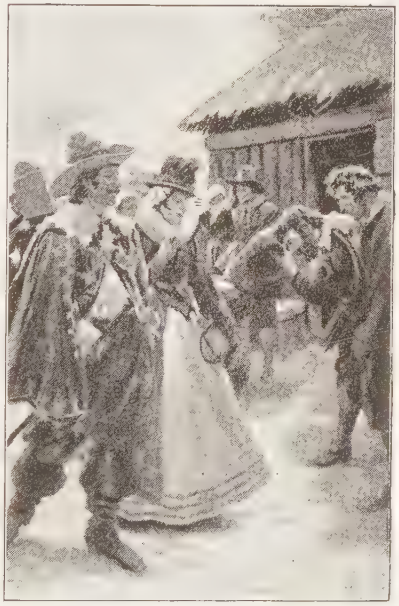
[1] Berkeley first became governor in 1642, and continued in office for nine years.

[2] Between 1650 and 1660, when the Puritans were in control in England, hundreds of the Stuart followers, called Cavaliers, came to Virginia. Many of these Cavaliers became planters of large influence, and naturally supported Berkeley.

drawn from the Cavalier ranks agreeable to his views, Berkeley for sixteen years kept these men in office by adjourning the assembly from year to year, thus avoiding an election by the people. Popular rights were ignored. Besides, an oppressive measure was adopted which took away the right to vote from all who did not own land.

These things were bad enough, but in 1673 the king himself did something far worse. He made a grant of Virginia to two of his favorites for thirty-one years. This action made the colonists uncertain about the titles to their land and aroused them to a high pitch of indignation.

Moreover, evil fell upon the settlement from another direction. The Indians began to invade the frontier, using firebrand and tomahawk with such fearful effect that the settlers were terrified. Berkeley refused to send troops to punish the Indians, and the people turned to Nathaniel Bacon, a young planter, who took up their cause and became their leader. Having vainly sought from Berkeley a commission, he put himself at the head of 500 followers, and, marching boldly against the Indians, defeated them.



THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST WOMAN AT JAMESTOWN.

After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

For taking affairs into his own hands the governor called Bacon a rebel and traitor. The people stood by their leader and civil war followed. Governor Berkeley was driven out of Jamestown and the town was burned by owners of property, who believed that its desolation would prevent the governor's coming back. But Bacon was taken ill and suddenly died of

fever, leaving the people without a leader. Berkeley then returned and took cruel revenge by putting to death more than twenty of Bacon's followers. This brutal rashness displeased even the king, who summoned him to England, where, disappointed and heart-broken at the king's rebuke, he soon afterward died.

Although Bacon's Rebellion failed to accomplish all that its brave young leader desired, it gave proof of that robust spirit among the plain people which was in later years to make Virginia prominent.

Lord Baltimore colonizes Maryland, granting freedom of worship for all Christians.

184 Closely touching the borders of Virginia on the north was another settlement. This was the colony of Maryland. Quite different in character and purpose from the settlers of Virginia, many of these colonists came over to America on account of religious persecution in England. There the Catholics had been badly treated because they were unwilling to conform to the English church. Lord Baltimore, a prominent Catholic gentleman and personal friend of Charles I, applied for a charter granting him the land lying north and east of the Potomac River and on both sides of the Chesapeake Bay. He died, however, before the charter was issued, and it was transferred to his son, who sent a colony of Catholics and Protestants there in 1634. A settlement was made near the mouth of the Potomac River, at St. Mary's, and the colony named Maryland in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria. Before proceeding to build their houses the colonists bought the land of the Indians, and paid for it with axes, hoes, and cloth. Their relations with the Indians were, with rare exceptions, most friendly.

GEORGE CALVERT (LORD BALTIMORE).

The charter is extremely liberal both to the proprietor[1] and to the people.

104 The charter granted to Lord Baltimore was extremely liberal. The king made him proprietor, requiring, as a token of his allegiance to the crown, two Indian arrows yearly and one-fifth of all the gold and silver. Lord Baltimore had almost the powers of a king in the new colony. All laws were to be made by him

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN MARYLAND.

with the advice and consent of the freemen, and the charter did not require their submission to the king for approval. The proprietor could coin money, establish at his will courts of law, and pardon criminals; and these proprietary rights were to remain with Lord Baltimore's descendants.

The Maryland charter contained also a remarkable provision wherein the king bound himself and his successors to lay no taxes whatsoever upon the people of the province. Thus were the colonists to enjoy all the rights and liberties of native-born

[1] Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were the only proprietary colonies at the time of the Revolution. (See page 118.)

Englishmen in the mother country, including a share in making the laws.

Intolerance asserts itself in the colony in Cromwell's time.

In the early days of the colony every settler was allowed to worship as he pleased, provided he worshipped in a Christian church, and all were equally protected under the laws. The liberal terms of the charter, granting so much freedom of government, brought many settlers

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA.

of different faiths to the colony. During Cromwell's rule in England the Protestants[1] in the colony got control and even began to persecute the Catholics.

Maryland becomes a colony of much wealth and prosperity.

But in spite of partisan disputes,[2] mostly on account of religion, the colony prospered. The land was fertile, the climate delightful, and the colonists could make their own laws. As in Virginia, life was almost

[1] Protestants were always more numerous in the colony than Catholics.

[2] Much later, after the settlement of Pennsylvania, there was a dispute about

wholly rural during the seventeenth century. The numerous rivers, creeks, and inlets made communication so easy that towns, or centres for collecting and distributing articles of trade, were unnecessary. Ships could bring to the planter's door whatever he needed, and carry away in exchange the products of the plantation, tobacco and Indian corn. Like Virginia, Maryland derived much wealth from growing tobacco, for a long time the staple product of the two colonies.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. "I am a gentleman, second son of a noble family, unmarried, tired of London life —I seek the new world. What happens to me?" Work out a story on this foundation which will fit historical facts. Write a story of a farmer, forced from an English estate, who comes to Virginia.
2. Compare the English idea of a gentleman with the American idea that came to prevail. Why could not the English idea prevail in America?
3. Discuss the conditions that made the common storehouse impracticable in the early days of Virginia. Should you have been in favor of it? Explain why.
4. Do not be satisfied until you understand clearly the two great reforms. How did they affect the prosperity and happiness of the settlers in Virginia? Do these reform ideas still exist in America? Mark well in connection with later history the threefold plan of government established in Virginia.
5. Explain the relation of soil and climate to tobacco, and of tobacco to plantation life and to negro slavery.
6. In what way was Berkeley tyrannical toward the plain people? What should you think of such a governor to-day?
7. The uprising of the people under Bacon was the first important stand for liberty in America. Discuss the results and consequences.
8. Subject for discussion: Virginia owed a greater debt to John Smith than to Governor Dale.
9. Other people were persecuted in England on account of religious views; so Lord Baltimore planted a colony with the idea of allowing religious liberty within certain limits. Discuss what he did in connection with our present idea of religious freedom.
10. Note the important clause in the Maryland charter about taxation. This is very important in relation to later events in the colonies. Be

the boundary between that colony and Maryland. After a long time, two surveyors, Mason and Dixon, established the boundary since known as Mason and Dixon's line (1763–1767).

continually on the alert for such beginnings in the expression of ideas of liberty and democratic government as later came to prevail in American life and government. If you can see the relation of cause and effect between events, history at once becomes full of meaning.

11. In Maryland, as in Virginia, life was almost wholly rural during the seventeenth century. Explain causes.
12. The account of early life in Virginia and also of Bacon's Rebellion, as told in Cooke's "Virginia," is a very interesting one.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*, 56–81; Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies;* Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, I, 142–155, 186–190, 273–285; Thwaites, *The Colonies*, 65–87; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 42–62; Higginson, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, chap. XI; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 45–58.

FICTION: Johnston, *Prisoners of Hope;* Johnston, *To Have and To Hold;* Thackeray, *The Virginians*.

NOTES

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA (1663–1729).—In 1663–1665 Charles II, desiring to reward eight of his favorite noblemen, gave them a grant of all the land between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and extending from Virginia to a point some distance below St. Augustine. Thus we see that this land, called Carolina, had eight proprietors, just as Maryland and Pennsylvania each had one.

The form of government for Carolina was aristocratic. It was called the Grand Model, and is said to have been outlined by a great English philosopher, John Locke. A few noblemen were to own all the land, make the laws, and have all the powers of government in their hands. The people were, like the old Russian serfs, to be bought and sold with the land. Of course this absurd scheme was a failure. The people made so much trouble for the proprietors that the latter were glad to sell in 1729 all their rights to the King of England. The king then divided Carolina into North and South Carolina, appointing a governor for each colony and allowing the people in each to choose their own assembly.

The population of the two colonies was composed of Englishmen, Huguenots, Germans, Scotch-Irish, and Scotch Highlanders. When the Revolution began North Carolina was the fourth colony in population. The staple products of South Carolina were rice and indigo, and of North Carolina tar, pitch, turpentine, and lumber.

GEORGIA (1733).—James Oglethorpe, a brave soldier and wealthy member of Parliament, knowing how eager the Spaniards were to destroy the weak English settlements in South Carolina, wished to plant a colony that should serve as a military outpost to ward off the Spanish attacks. But this was not his only motive. Being a man of warm sympathies, he desired to find relief for imprisoned debtors suffering in English prisons. He therefore secured from the king a grant of the land lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha Rivers and extending

westward to the Pacific. In 1733 he planted at Savannah a colony in which freedom of worship was allowed to all but Catholics. For many years neither rum nor slaves could be imported. But, believing that these restrictions interfered with the prosperity of the colony, the people finally secured their removal. At the end of twenty years the trustees, to whom the king had granted the original charter, gave it up. Georgia then became a royal colony and remained so until the Revolution.

B. The Pilgrims and Puritans in Massachusetts and Connecticut (1620–1689)

The Stuart kings disregard the rights of the English people and one of them loses his life (1649).

119 Unless we know something of English history from 1603 to 1689 we cannot understand who the Pilgrims and Puritans were, why they left their homes in England, and what they did after they came to America. During this period, with the exception of eleven years (1649–1660), the Stuart kings[1] reigned in England. These men were oppressive rulers and aroused the opposition of many of the best people in England. When James I ascended the throne, he seemed to think that all England and its people were his personal property. He affirmed that he ruled by divine right, another way of saying that his will was law and that the people had no rights which he was bound to respect.

Accordingly, a struggle began between the king and the people, represented by Parliament. The great majority of the people claimed that they could not lawfully be taxed without their consent; in other words, that no taxes could be levied unless voted by the people's representatives in Parliament. The Stuarts tried various ways of raising money without asking Parliament to vote it. This was difficult; yet for eleven years (1629–1640) Charles I ruled England without Parliament. During this time he was so arbitrary that he brought on the war which ended in the loss of his crown and of his life (1649).

[1] James I (1603–1625), Charles I (1625–1649), Charles II (1660–1685), James II (1685–1688).

Cromwell's Commonwealth unsatisfactory; the Stuarts are restored (1660).

The Commonwealth followed (1649–1660), England being ruled by Oliver Cromwell and later by his son Richard. Although chosen to put down the tyranny of the king, Oliver Cromwell became even a greater autocrat than Charles I had been, and dissatisfaction with the Commonwealth brought about the Restoration of the Stuart kings. After the Restoration Charles II, son of Charles I, reigned till 1685, when he was succeeded by his brother, James II. James was so despotic that the people, in the Revolution of 1688, rose against him and he fled from England.

James I tries to make the Puritans and the Separatists conform to the Church of England.

It was during the reign of James I, the first of the Stuart rulers, that the trouble with the Puritans began. He was determined that every one should conform to the Established Church of England. But there were many people who did not like its forms and ceremonies and wished to modify them. They were called Puritans because, it was said, they wished to purify the church. The Puritans wished to remain in the church and reform it. Another party wished to leave the Established Church, or separate themselves from it, and were therefore known as Separatists. They disliked the forms and ceremonies of the English Church, and they also disapproved of church government by bishops. They wished to have a church in which the people only should rule. Such a self-governing church, where each congregation could elect its minister and manage its own affairs without interference from king or bishop, afterward became known as Congregational. Thus did democracy in the church foster the growth of democracy in the state.

The Pilgrims sail to America, where they can have a free government and their own religion (1620).

In the early part of the reign of James I a number of people in Scrooby, a small village in Nottinghamshire, undertook to form a separate church. As this was contrary to the laws of England, they were regarded as rebels by the king, and some were thrown into prison. Harsh

treatment led them, in 1608, to escape to Holland, where they were allowed to live and to worship as they pleased.

However, they were not satisfied to settle permanently in Holland, because they did not wish their children to lose their English character and when grown up to intermarry with the Dutch. They desired to make homes in a new land and there to establish a free government and their own religion. For that purpose, therefore, after remaining in Holland twelve years, they decided to go to America, where they might bring up their children to be liberty-loving and God-fearing men and women. By reason of their wanderings these people later were called Pilgrims. Although poor and of humble occupation, they were men and women of strong will and noble purpose. They tried to secure a charter from the king, but he refused to grant it. He led them to believe, however, that he would not interfere with their project if they did not make themselves troublesome to him.

The hardships of the voyage and winter test their endurance.

After getting money on hard terms they set out[1] from Plymouth, England, in the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*. On account of a leak the *Speedwell* was obliged to return, and the *Mayflower*, with about one hundred people on board, sailed for America. After a stormy voyage

[1] The Pilgrims sailed in July, 1620, from Deftshaven, the port of Leyden, Holland, in the *Speedwell*, for Southampton, England, where the *Mayflower* awaited them.

they anchored, about the end of November, 1620, on the northern shore of Cape Cod. As this place was not suitable for a settlement, they sailed across the bay to a good harbor and made their final landing at Plymouth, December 21, 1620. The suffering during the first winter was severe, and before spring half the number died. Yet when spring came they had no wish to return to England. Weak as they were in numbers and pos-

THE "MAYFLOWER" IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR.
After a painting by W. F. Halsall.

sessions, they were young men and women of serious purpose and brave enough to face whatever danger might threaten their little settlement.

The Pilgrim settlers establish pure democracy in church and state.

Before landing they had signed, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, a covenant in which they had agreed to make and support such laws as should seem for the best interests of all. The laws were made in town meetings, in which every man could vote, for the Pilgrims at Plymouth believed that the people should rule and they planted democracy both in their church and state. Some years later,[1] after population had increased, this pure

[1] In 1630 there were only 300 settlers. By 1639 representative government became necessary, and in 1643 the population numbered 3,000. This increase was

democracy was obliged to give place to representative government. John Carver, who had been chosen governor, died during the first winter, and William Bradford succeeded him. Elder Brewster was the minister, and Captain Miles Standish was

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT AT PLYMOUTH.

chosen military leader. These stout-hearted leaders well represented the character of the Plymouth settlers.

Friendly relations are established with the Indians.

For defense against the Indians, the Pilgrims organized their able-bodied men into small companies, who in turn guarded the settlement against surprise. Fortunately for the Plymouth settlers, so many of the Indians of that region had recently died from a pestilence that the remaining natives were not troublesome. Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, visited Plymouth in the spring of 1621, and Governor Bradford made a treaty of peace with him that lasted fifty years.[1]

due to surrounding settlements which began to spring up about 1630. Plymouth colony was united with Massachusetts in 1692.

[1] Later the Narragansett chief, Canonicus, sent to Plymouth a rattlesnake skin containing a bundle of arrows. Governor Bradford removed the arrows and, filling the skin with powder and shot, returned it to the Indians. This hint was sufficient.

CAPTAIN MILES STANDISH THE CHOSEN MILITARY LEADER.

The Puritan leaders in England form a trading company in 1628 and buy a tract of land from the Plymouth Company. They receive a liberal charter from Charles I.

Encouraged by the success of the Pilgrims, many Puritans followed their example. In 1628 some of the leaders of the Puritan party in England, men of wealth and influence, formed a trading company. They bought from the Plymouth Company a tract of land along the Massachusetts coast, extending from three miles north of the Charles River to three miles south of the Merrimac and westward to the Pacific, and sent out men to occupy it. They settled at Salem, with John Endicott as their leader. In the following year the same trading company, with increased numbers, obtained a charter from Charles I, now the king, incorporating it as the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. Very likely the king was quite willing to be rid of these liberty-loving subjects. At any rate, he granted them a charter which was liberal in its terms. It allowed the freemen of the company to choose their own governor, his deputy, and a council of eighteen assistants, and to manage in every way their own affairs. It did not restrict its holders in the place of meeting, and this was a distinct advantage to the promoters of the new enterprise.

Accordingly, in 1629, when the king was ruling with a high

hand and setting at naught the will of Parliament by levying taxes himself and by throwing into prison those who refused to pay them, these Puritans decided upon the bold step of removing in a body to New England, where they might find a refuge from the tyranny of the king and build up a government according to their own ideas.

About 1,000 Puritans, led by Winthrop, sail for America.

In 1630, under the leadership of John Winthrop, about 1,000 persons, with horses, cattle, and stores of various kinds, sailed for Massachusetts. They called themselves the Massachusetts Bay Colony and planted settlements at Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Watertown. Winthrop became their first governor. Like the Plymouth settlers, they established a government democratic in form although it differed in some respects.

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP.

The colony included men of wealth and refinement. Some were related to the greatest men of the day; also they were men of wisdom and energy, and might have made great names[1] for themselves in England. It must have been a strong motive that led them to sacrifice so much. We shall see how tenaciously they held to the rights which those sacrifices had brought.

The township with village and parish meeting-house becomes unit for church and civil government.

Unlike most colonists, the Puritans came in large communities with their plans of government fully matured. They were not Separatists in England as the Pilgrims had been, but the church they established in Massachusetts was independent and Congregational. Each congregation formed a

[1] Stoughton, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts (1692 1701), said: "God sifted a whole nation that He might send choice grain over into this wilderness."

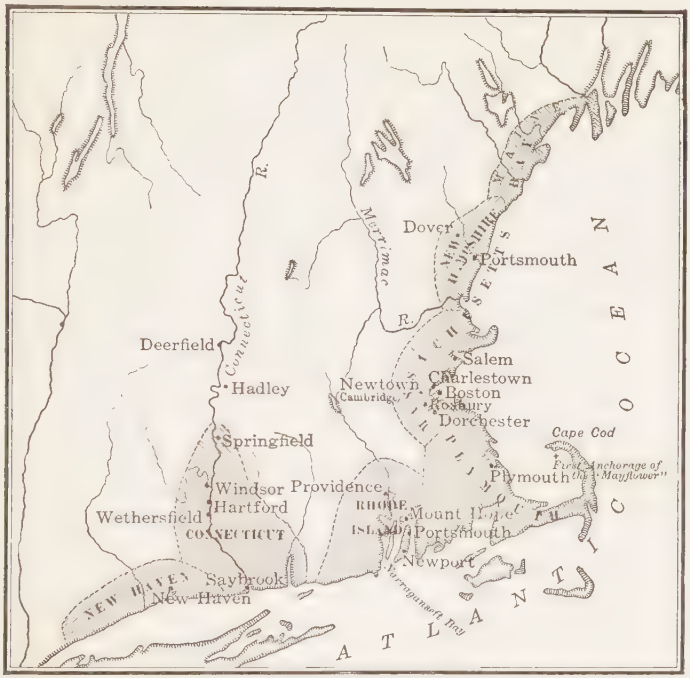
settlement, constituting a township and parish, the boundaries of which were the same, and usually included an area of from forty to sixty square miles. Each parish had one church, or meeting-house, where all business, church or civil, was transacted. Later the people erected a separate building for their town meetings and called it a town house or town hall. The meeting-house and the town house were the centre about which clustered the village. In order to meet more easily for worship, and to provide a better defense against the Indians, the settlers built their houses close together.

The Puritans decide that only their own church members are freemen entitled to vote.

The charter permitted all freemen to vote, but the Puritans came to New England to establish and preserve what was most dear to them, their political freedom and their own religion—in no sense religious toleration. In 1631, when the first elections were held, therefore, it was enacted that no one should be admitted a "freeman," and so have a right to vote, who was not a member of one of the churches of the colony. The union of church and state was thus complete. Having left England in order to remove their church from the government of the state, they founded a state whose powers were dependent upon the government of the church. This strict guarding of the church, as the colony enlarged, was bound to cause trouble. At first the freeman met with the governor, his deputy, and council of assistants, to make such laws as pertained to the general welfare of the several towns. After a time, when the towns and freemen had so multiplied that it became inconvenient for them all to meet, each town began to send representatives, or deputies, to the legislature, or General Court (1634), just as

PURITAN TYPES.

each settlement or borough in Virginia sent representatives to the House of Burgesses.



EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

Massachusetts gets control of and settles the Connecticut valley (1633–1636).

The Puritans were hardly settled in their new homes before boundary troubles threatened them. Several years before the Massachusetts Bay Company had made settlements on the New England coast the Dutch had become established in New York (then New Amsterdam) on the Hudson, where they were engaged in the fur trade with the Indians. Claiming the land as far east as the Connecticut River, they had built a small fort on the present site of Hartford in the interest of the fur trade. In 1633 Plymouth sent up the Connecticut a small vessel, which in spite of Dutch protests sailed to the present site of Windsor, six miles

above Hartford. There the Plymouth men built a house for trading with the Indians. Two years later John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, by building a fort called Saybrook at the mouth of the river, cut off the Dutch fort at Hartford from the support of New Amsterdam. The way was now open for Massachusetts to send settlers into the valley of the Connecticut.

When, in 1635, 3,000 more settlers came from England to Massachusetts, some of them maintained there was not enough good land for the many people already in that colony. This complaint came chiefly from three of the eight towns, and a large part of the people of these towns decided to take up the fertile land in the Connecticut valley. Thus were settled the three towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. The principal settlement was made at Hartford in June, 1636. Under the leadership of their minister, Thomas Hooker, one hundred men, women, and children came overland from Cambridge (then Newtown), driving their cattle before them. It took two weeks to make the toilsome journey on foot through the wood. There is little doubt that these three towns moved to Connecticut for political reasons. Many persons did not approve of the Puritan idea held in Massachusetts of allowing only church members to vote. Nor did they like to have the clergy take a controlling part in political life.

The first constitution in history made by and for the people; the Connecticut charter.

In 1639 the three towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor united under one government. The constitution which they adopted was the first written constitution in all history made by the people and in the interests of the people.[1] In the Connecticut colony all freemen, whether church members or not, could vote.

The New Haven colony was founded in 1638 by a small body of men under the leadership of John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton. They based their laws strictly upon the Bible, and, like

[1] Alexander Johnston says: "It is on the banks of the Connecticut, under the mighty preaching of Thomas Hooker, and in the constitution to which he gave life if not form, that we draw the first breath of that atmosphere which is now so familiar to us. The birthplace of American democracy is Hartford."

the Massachusetts Bay colonists, allowed none but church members to vote.

After the Restoration of the Stuart kings, Winthrop the younger was sent to England by the Connecticut colony to apply to the King for a charter, and by his tact and pleasing address he succeeded in obtaining one (1662) for the territory which included Hartford, New Haven, and all the other settlements[1] that had been made in what is now Connecticut. This charter was so liberal and satisfactory that it afterward became the state constitution and remained in force till 1818.

Roger Williams, driven from Massachusetts, establishes religious freedom in Rhode Island (1636).

Another settlement that was an offshoot of Massachusetts was Rhode Island. We must remember that the Puritans came to New England not to establish religious freedom but to form a state where they should have freedom for their own religion. They thought that their safety, certainly their welfare, depended upon having none but members of the church take any part in government. Yet, although none but church members could vote, all were obliged to pay taxes for the support of the church and were compelled to attend its services.

Roger Williams, a young man of pure spirit and strong conviction, had become pastor of a church at Salem (1633). He declared this system to be wrong. He asserted that no man should have to pay taxes to support any church, nor should be punished by the magistrates for not attending church services. He believed that every man should settle such matters with his conscience and his God. Williams very much disturbed the Puritans by declaring, also, that they had no just claim to the land on which they lived. The king had granted the land to the Massachusetts Bay Company, but Williams maintained the land had never become the king's property—it belonged to the Indians, and the king, therefore, could not grant to any person what was not his own.

This strange way of regarding the authority of the magistrates and property rights alarmed the Puritans. They considered

[1] Saybrook was purchased by the Connecticut colony in 1644.

ROGER WILLIAMS DRIVEN OUT OF SALEM.

Roger Williams a dangerous person and drove him out of the colony. He sought refuge in the wilderness of what is now Rhode Island and made a settlement which he called Providence, where religion had no part in the government of the colony (1636). Rhode Island afterward became a refuge for all who were seeking a place in which to worship as they chose.

The New England Confederation is an early evidence of a drawing together (1643).

In addition to troubles within their own borders, the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in common with the settlers of other New England colonies, were threatened by dangers from without. For instance, the Dutch, angered by the loss of their fur trade in the Connecticut Valley, had twice tried to drive away the English. The French in Canada attempted to push their claims to the south; and the Indians, either as allies of the French or the Dutch or on their own account, threatened on all sides. In 1643, therefore, the four colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, formed a confederation for "mutual safety and welfare." This confederation was important because it taught the colonies how to unite and made stronger their feeling of self-dependence. It prepared the way for later unions, such as the Albany Congress, the Continental Congress, and the union of the states in 1789.

Why the Quakers are punished in Massachusetts.

In 1656 the Massachusetts colonists were greatly alarmed to learn of the arrival of two Quakers. Already those of this faith who had come to the colony were regarded as unwelcome intruders. These two persons, therefore, were at

once thrown into prison until the ship in which they had come should sail, and boards were nailed on their prison windows to prevent them from communicating with people outside.

The Puritans bitterly opposed having the Quakers in the colony because the Quakers believed in the separation of church and state; and as they did not approve of the Puritan system, they refused to declare their loyalty to the state, to pay taxes, or do military service. To the Puritans, then, the presence of Quakers meant the overthrow of the Puritans. They said: "We have come over to New England to establish a church and state after our own ideal. If the Quakers and others do not like our system, let them go elsewhere, as we did when we left England."

But in spite of harsh treatment the Quakers continued to come. Fined, imprisoned, whipped without mercy, mutilated, and driven from the colony on penalty of death, they still persevered. Not until four of them were hanged did a reaction in their favor set in.

Trouble with the Indians; two different modes of living come into conflict.

With the Indians also there were serious troubles. They arose in large measure through misunderstandings on the part of the natives. At first they did not understand that selling their lands meant their giving them up entirely, and even when they understood the nature of the land sales, they thought the white settlers had taken advantage of them. When the white men continued to cut down the forest trees, plant farms, and build villages, the Indians became fearful about their own safety. They believed that the colonists, by getting possession of the forest lands, would in time drive them from their hunting-grounds.

This fear and suspicion was the leading cause of the two Indian wars of New England in colonial days. The first was the Pequot war (1637), which ended in the practical extermination of the tribe, and the second, King Philip's War (1675–1676).

King Philip, chief of the Wampanoags, a Rhode Island tribe, united the northeastern Indians from Maine to the Hudson

River into a league, whose aim was to destroy all the white settlers in New England. The war broke out in Swansea, Mass., and spread through other parts of the New England colony. It was a great scourge to the colonies, but after about fourteen months it ended with the death of King Philip (1676). The remnant of his tribe was either killed or sold into slavery, and the power of the New England Indians was completely broken.

In the long run, however, perhaps these and other Indian wars were of benefit to the colonists, who through them came to know one another better and learned by bitter experience the advantage of union. In fighting a common danger the colonies were brought into closer sympathy, and this bond became the basis of that co-operation which they were to need in future struggles.

Trouble with England leads to loss of the Massachusetts charter (1684).

By harsh measures toward all whom they looked upon as dangerous to their colony, and by being left pretty much alone by England during their first thirty years in New England, the Puritans were able to build up a strong and independent government. The stormy reign of Charles I had not permitted of any control on the part of the mother country. The Commonwealth which succeeded (see page 54), being Puritan in its sympathies, allowed the colony to follow its own course. But the conditions which had favored her growth thus far were giving way. After the Restoration (1660) it was not to be expected that Charles II would overlook the growing importance and independent attitude of the Massachusetts colony.

Many reports of what the colony had done were brought into the king's court by men who had returned to England. For example, it was rumored that Massachusetts had raised money without the king's sanction, and had given a hearty welcome to two of the judges who had sentenced Charles I to death, and who afterward had escaped to Massachusetts. Furthermore, it was said that Massachusetts had broken the navigation laws, which forbade the colonies to receive foreign vessels into their ports or to trade with any except English ports or ports belong-

ing to England. This political crime was especially displeasing to English merchants and robbed the king of his revenue. The time had therefore arrived for humbling the ambitious colonists, but it was not until after a long struggle that their charter was finally annulled in 1684. The Governor and Company of Massachusetts then passed out of existence.

Andros attempts to curtail self-government in the New England colonies (1686–1689).

Charles II died and was succeeded by James II. In 1686 the king appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of all New England and, later, of New York and New Jersey. Andros represented the despotic will of his royal master. He was especially tyrannical in Massachusetts, because this colony had taken such an independent attitude toward England. He at once declared that inasmuch as the colonists had lost their charter they could no longer lay any legal claim to their lands, and that they could hold them only by paying money as a quit-rent to the king The privilege of making their own laws and levying their own taxes in town meetings and General Court[1] was also taken away. The new governor, with a council of his own choosing, assumed these powers. The colonists rebelled, but the king stood back of the governor, and resistance was useless. Freedom of the press was no longer allowed, and men were illegally thrown into prison. Indeed, the condition of the people was little short of slavery.

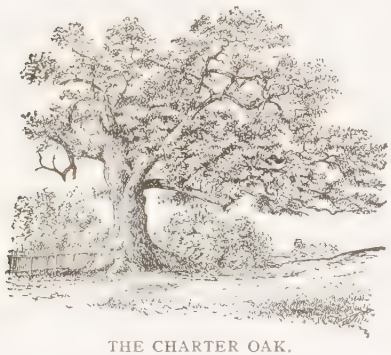
SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

Andros fails in his plans.

In 1687 Andros went to Hartford to seize the Connecticut charter. A long and heated conference was held that continued till dark, when, as the traditional story goes, the candles suddenly were

[1] General Court was the name for the colonial legislature. The term is still applied to the Massachusetts legislature.

blown out, and the charter was snatched from the table and hidden in an oak-tree,[1] afterward historic as the "Charter Oak." But the situation was not thereby saved, for the colonists were obliged to give up their charter government and to acknowledge Andros as governor. He, however, pressed his tyranny too far. When the people heard that James II was no longer king, they seized Andros, threw him into prison, and later sent him back to England. Andros in Massachusetts and Berkeley in Virginia were both intensely hated and bitterly remembered.[2] It will help us to understand these men if we keep in mind that they were trying to rule in America as their royal masters were ruling in England.



THE CHARTER OAK.

New England soil and climate favor trade and industry.

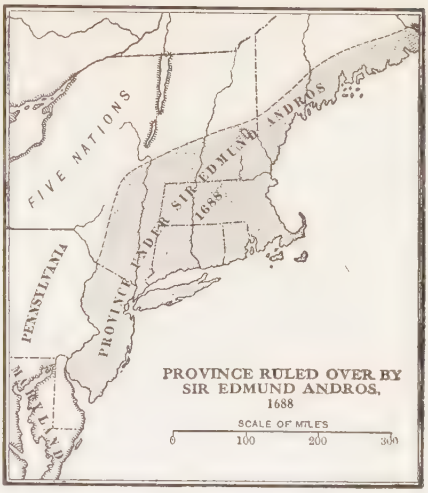
No less stern than the government was the cultivation of the land in New England. In Virginia, as we have seen, soil and climate favored the development of large plantations, and life was rural. This was not true in New England, where the soil was rocky, and the climate too cold for the growth of tobacco. The people lived mostly in towns, usually not far from the coast, and near the towns were the farms of those who tilled the soil.

In Virginia the many sluggish rivers made it easy for vessels to reach the wharves of the plantations. In hilly New England the swift-running streams were not so navigable, but were useful for turning the wheels of mills and factories, so that, naturally, manufacturing on a small scale began early. In addition to

[1] In 1856 the noble old tree which stood in what is now Charter Oak Place, Hartford, was blown down. A marble tablet marks the spot.

[2] It is only fair to say that Andros was personally a far more honorable man than Berkeley.

sawmills and weaving-mills New England had factories for making salt, gunpowder, and glassware. Good fishing off the coast led to a considerable trade in dried fish, which was a leading export in the commerce of this section. Also, the extensive forests furnished lumber for ship-building, an industry which started early, and for which, in later years of their history, the New England people became famous.



SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Discuss the tyranny of the Stuart kings. Name two or three results of their struggles with the people of England.
2. "My parents were Separatists who left England because of religious persecution to live in Holland." As a boy or a girl, write a story about your experiences there, which caused your parents to move to America with you on the "Mayflower."
3. You are now a Pilgrim. Write another story about landing at Plymouth in December, 1620, and your life in Plymouth during your first winter there.
4. Define covenant and explain how the settlers at Plymouth first made their laws.
5. Did the Puritans establish as free and liberal conditions in Massachusetts as existed in England? The charter gave all freemen the right to vote, but the Puritans enacted a law that only church members were freemen. Do you think they were right or wrong in this? Give reasons for your answer. What form of government did they have?
6. Name points of difference between the Pilgrims and the Puritans. Which do you admire more, the Pilgrims or the Puritans? Give your reasons.
7. Which man represented the idea of government that came to prevail in America—Thomas Hooker or John Winthrop? Be sure you think clearly on this. It is commonly misunderstood.

8. Other men disagreed with the Puritans in Massachusetts. Impersonating Roger Williams, state clearly your beliefs and what kind of colony you hope to establish at Providence. As a Puritan state your attitude toward Williams.
9. What were the causes and results of the New England Confederacy? Do you think that if you had been a Puritan you would have joined in persecuting the Quakers? Give your reasons.
10. Do you blame the king for annulling the Massachusetts charter in 1684? Compare the rule of Andros in Massachusetts with that of Berkeley in Virginia. In what respects were these governors like the Stuart kings? As in Virginia, so in Massachusetts and Connecticut, you see evidences of conflict appearing between the English Government and the local governments. How can you explain this fact?
11. Discuss and contrast the climatic and geographical conditions that determined the life and occupations of the people of Massachusetts and Virginia.
12. Read Austin's "Standish of Standish" and Longfellow's "Courtship of Miles Standish," for vivid pictures of the Pilgrims and their life at Plymouth.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, 116–140; Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England*, chap. III; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 64–90; Higginson, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, chaps. XIV, XV; Eggleston, *Our First Century*, 61–81, 89–100; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 59–71; Thwaites, *The Colonies*, 116–156.

FICTION AND POETRY: Scott, *Woodstock;* Stowe, *The Mayflower;* Austin, *Standish of Standish;* Cogswell, *The Regicides;* Longfellow, *The Courtship of Miles Standish.*

NOTE

NEW HAMPSHIRE (1623).—Two years after the Pilgrims landed, the Council of Plymouth granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason the territory between the Merrimac and the Kennebec Rivers. In 1623 fishing stations were begun at Dover and Portsmouth. Later Mason and Gorges divided the territory between them. Mason took the part west of the Piscataqua, which he named New Hampshire, after his own county of Hampshire in England; Gorges took the part east of the same river, naming it Maine. The proprietors left the early settlers to do pretty much as they liked. Massachusetts claimed all the territory, but to make certain her claim bought out the heirs of Gorges (1677) for $6,000. Maine continued as a part of Massachusetts till 1820. New Hampshire remained for a long time under the protection of Massachusetts. After severing connection with Massachusetts three times, New Hampshire became a separate royal colony in 1741, and so continued until the Revolution.

C. *The Dutch in New York and the Quakers in Pennsylvania (1609–1689)*

Henry Hudson continues search for northwest passage and sails up the Hudson River (1609).

About the time the English were planting the settlement of Jamestown, the Dutch East India Company employed Henry Hudson, an English navigator, to sail in search of a short northwest passage to India. Holland

THE "HALF-MOON" IN THE HUDSON RIVER.
This ship was reconstructed for the Hudson-Fulton celebration in 1909.

was then one of the greatest commercial countries in the world and, like the other European powers, desired to find a shorter route for the eastern trade that was making her people rich.

With the hope of arriving at the Far East by sailing in a westerly direction, Hudson crossed the Atlantic with a crew of twenty men, in the *Half-Moon* (1609). He held the familiar belief of his time that the East Indies could be reached by a shorter route through North America, which was supposed to

be a narrow continent. But after he had found the river which now bears his name and sailed as far as the present site of Albany, he could go no farther, and gave up his plan.

Although he did not find a short passage to the Pacific, he discovered the Hudson River, which became a great waterway for

THE EARLIEST PICTURE OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

the Dutch traders in fur who came later. He won also the good-will of the Indians. It was worth much to the Dutch that Hudson came to the Indians as a friend. The same year Champlain, a French explorer and trader, made deadly enemies of these same Indians, the Iroquois, who were a great trouble and hindrance to the French in their work of exploration and colonization.

A Dutch company of merchants is given a charter. They build forts and make settlements along the Hudson and the Delaware.

During the next few years Dutch traders continued to visit the region of the Hudson, and in 1615 the Dutch States General gave a charter to a company of merchants. In this charter the new country was named New Netherland. A small trading-house was erected on the present site of Albany, and a similar one was built on Manhattan Island at the mouth of the river.

Real colonization did not begin until 1623, when the West India Company, which had been chartered two years before for the purpose of settlement and trade, began to send out colonists. Some of these settled on the Delaware, or South River, some on the Hudson, or North River, some on Long Island, and a few remained on Manhattan Island. The Dutch also built Fort Orange where Albany now stands. In 1626 Peter Minuit, governor of New Netherland, founded New Amsterdam (New York City) on Manhattan Island, which he bought from the Indians for trinkets worth twenty-four dollars. These early colonies opened a successful trade with the Indians, with whom they kept on friendly terms, but they did not cultivate the soil, and therefore their settlements did not thrive.

The Dutch attempt to institute a patroon system in America.

To encourage emigration, the States General of Holland granted to the company a new charter by which the patroon system was introduced. It permitted any member of the Dutch West India Company who would bring into the colony fifty settlers within four years to own a landed estate with a water-front of sixteen miles if on one side of the Hudson only, and eight miles if on both sides. He might extend his estate inland as far as he thought desirable, buying the land of the Indians. This great landowner, or patroon, as he was called, had almost absolute power over his tenants. Not only did he make all the laws for them, but he was also their governor and their judge. In fact, the patroon was like a feudal lord of the Middle Ages, and his tenants like the vassals.

A PATROON.

While the patroon was to provide his tenants with house and land, and stock each little farm with tools and cattle, the farmer, on his part, was required to pay a certain rent and to keep a fixed place of living for ten years. He had to

grind his corn at the patroon's mill, and could neither hunt nor fish without the patroon's permission. He could not even weave cloth for himself, but must buy it from the storehouse of the patroon.

It should be noted, however, that the patroons were each required to support a minister and a school-teacher, in order that religious education should not suffer. This wise provision, although not carried out in full, indicated the sturdy, wholesome character of the Dutch people.

The Dutch develop extensive fur trade and welcome all comers to New Amsterdam (1623–1664).

By treating the Iroquois justly the Dutch held their friendship, and by honest dealing avoided costly wars with them. They also easily secured the furs coming through the hands of the Iroquois from numerous tribes around the Great Lakes and between the Ohio and the Mississippi. The results of this friendship were far-reaching: (1) Dutch commerce was enriched; (2) the Iroquois received for their furs the firearms which enabled them to prevent the French from getting possession of New York; (3) although they had no such purpose, they were smoothing the path of the English, who at a later date took possession of New Netherland.[1] They also helped to maintain the fur trade with the Iroquois, much to the later advantage of the English.

There was no self-government in New Netherland. The people could not make their own laws nor levy their own taxes. The town meeting, which was such a characteristic feature of New England life, had no existence here. Yet religious freedom was all that the most liberal could desire. As Holland welcomed the Pilgrims when driven by persecution from England, the Dutch in New Netherland welcomed the victims of Puritan intolerance in New England. People from all parts of Europe came over to New Netherland, and a very mixed population was the result. It was said that in 1643 eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam. In such a community there could

[1] New Netherland had four Dutch governors: Peter Minuit, Walter Van Twiller, William Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant. Stuyvesant was the only governor worthy of the name. With great reluctance did he yield to the English.

not be the same intense loyalty to the ruling power as if all the people had been of one nation.

New Netherland becomes one of the English colonies (1664).

The Dutch were now, as the Spaniards had been the century before, the great naval and commercial rivals of England. It is not surprising that England should wish to get control of the trade which was enriching Dutch merchants, but that was hardly possible while the Dutch held the best harbor on the Atlantic coast and the best highway to the Indian fur trade of the interior. No other river equalled the Hudson in this respect; its advantages were superb. Moreover, the Dutch colonies separated the English colonies north and south. And England, not foreseeing that the union of the English colonies could prove disastrous to the mother country, accepted the New England idea that the intrusion of the Dutch was a great obstacle to their growth.

SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, AND DELAWARE.

Therefore, after allowing the Dutch to remain fifty years in the territory which they had settled, England suddenly brought forth her claim to the land by the discovery of Cabot. Accordingly, in 1664, although Holland and England were at peace, Charles II sent over a fleet to attack the Dutch colony at New Amsterdam. Governor Stuyvesant made frantic appeals to the people to ward off the attack, but the settlers

welcomed English rule. Without a blow New Amsterdam and the whole of New Netherland fell into the hands of the English. Charles II gave the newly conquered territory to his

PETER STUYVESANT, GOVERNOR OF NEW AMSTERDAM.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

brother, the Duke of York, and changed the name of both the colony and the capital to New York.

The reason why the Dutch fail in America.

Dutch colonization, like Spanish, failed, and for a similar reason. The Spaniards were lured by gold, the Dutch by trade.[1] They both lacked the colonizing instinct which puts home-making before wealth-getting. Yet, though Holland failed in establishing colonies in America, the influence of the Dutch people was indelibly impressed for good on the part of the country which they settled.

Representative government is established in New York.

New York prospered under English rule, but the people were dissatisfied because they were not given as much political freedom as the English colonists

[1] At that time beautiful skins from such fur-bearing animals as the otter and the beaver cost so much in Europe that none but the rich could afford to buy them; but the Indian, who got them easily by hunting, was willing to exchange them with the Dutch fur-trader for a few trinkets that were of trifling value to him. The fur trade, therefore, yielded large profits to the Dutch traders and merchants.

enjoyed in New England. It was not until 1683 that they were allowed an assembly elected by the freeholders, which could meet with the governor and council to make laws and levy taxes. In 1686 the Duke of York, now James II, took away this representative government, and two years later annexed New York to New England, putting both under the rule of Andros. When the news came in 1689 that James II had been deprived of his throne, the people's party, under the leadership of Jacob Leisler, a wealthy merchant, started a revolution, and the deputy governor deserted his position and fled from the colony. In a short time Leisler was at the head of the provisional government, in which he assumed the authority laid down by the deputy governor.

Although he was honest in purpose and patriotic in spirit, he was rash in action, and did not prove a satisfactory leader. In less than two years he was forced to surrender to the royal governor sent over by the king. The new governor, while under the influence of wine, it is said, was induced to sign an order for the execution of Leisler. There seems to be no doubt that his execution was a grave injustice. By royal authority the new administration provided for a permanent assembly to be elected by the people and to represent the people. From that time on the people of New York enjoyed self-government.

Quakers are extreme dissenters.

The direct cause of the settlement of Pennsylvania was the bitter persecution of the Quakers in England.[1] They were extreme dissenters from the Established Church, and did not believe in paying taxes for its support; they had no respect for forms and ceremonies; they would not use titles in addressing any man, not even the king; and they counted it a sin to take oath even in a court of justice, or to pay taxes for war.

William Penn, a leading Quaker, is given liberal proprietary rights in America (1680).

The most illustrious convert of the Quakers in the seventeenth century was William Penn. He was a young man of wealth, education, and political promise. Through his father, Admiral Penn, who had been active in bringing about the restora-

[1] At one time there were 4,000 Quakers in English prisons.

tion of the Stuarts, he had found favor with the king. For many years he had cherished the idea of founding a settlement for the Quakers in America, and he had played a large part in the planting of a colony in West Jersey, where many Quakers had found a refuge. But as the colony was not altogether satisfactory, he sought to obtain a grant of land from Charles II in payment of a debt of $80,000 that the king owed Admiral Penn.

WILLIAM PENN.

This grant (1680) lay west of the Delaware River. The king named it Pennsylvania in honor of his friend, the admiral. Penn was made proprietor of the new colony, and by the terms of the charter, drawn by his own hand, the proprietor, with the consent of the freemen, was to make all necessary laws. Penn offered land on easy terms, and promised the settlers a popular government, with justice to all, regardless of religious beliefs. The people of his faith throughout England responded with such enthusiasm that he was able to send out a large colony.

Quakers settle Pennsylvania and live in peace with the Indians (1681).

The first settlers came to America in 1681. William Penn arrived in 1682, and in the following year he laid out the city of Philadelphia on a tract of land between the Delaware and the Schuylkill Rivers. Under the spreading branches of an elm-tree[1] he made a treaty of peace with the Indians, paying them fairly for the land and making them presents. So honest were the Quaker colonists of Pennsylvania in all their dealings with the natives that for a long time the highest compliment an Indian could pay a white man was to liken him to Penn. The Indians kept their treaty for sixty years.

[1] This tree was blown down in 1810. A monument marks the spot where it stood.

Penn's government is very democratic and attracts thrifty people from many lands.

The government was very liberal. The proprietor named the governor but the people chose the members of the council and the assembly. Every taxpayer and freeholder had the right to vote. The laws indicate Penn's kindness and good-will

WILLIAM PENN NEGOTIATING HIS TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

toward others. They provided that the Indians should be treated kindly; that each child should be taught a trade; that criminals in prison should be kept busy with some kind of work; and that all public officers should be professed Christians.

In spite of internal feuds, some slight and others serious, the colony grew and continued to prosper. The climate was good, the soil was fertile, and rivers offered easy communication. These natural advantages, together with the liberal spirit, the good laws, and the peaceful relations with the Indians,

COTTAGE OF WILLIAM PENN, FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA.

made the enterprise successful.[1] Colonists were not afraid to come where others had opened the way. Besides English and Swedes, there were many from Wales, Holland, and Germany. Industries were built up and wealth increased with population. Thus Penn's "Holy Experiment" placed Pennsylvania among the foremost of the original colonies.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Why should the Dutch leave Holland to settle in America? What advantage did Hudson gain for the Dutch by winning the good-will of the Iroquois Indians? How did Champlain make these same Indians deadly enemies of the French? In what way did the friendship of these Indians for the Dutch aid the English later? Note the importance of the fur trade.
2. Bear in mind the mixed population in New York and in Pennsylvania, for you can use this knowledge to a good purpose when you study the Revolution.
3. Do you consider it important in connection with colonial history that England secured New Netherland? What events does the series of years 1609–1664 cover in the history of New Netherland? Why did Dutch colonization fail? What would have been your attitude toward the patroon system?
4. What led to a popular uprising against Andros under the leadership of Leisler?
5. Imagine yourself to be William Penn interviewing the king and giving him reasons why you wish to plant a colony in Pennsylvania.
6. Your first important date was 1492; you have now studied typical English colonies of the three geographical groups up to 1689. Learn the

[1] In three years Philadelphia had gained more in population than New York had in a half-century. Toward the close of the century Philadelphia was a "noble and beautiful" city, as a history of the time describes it, containing 2,000 houses, most of them "stately," built of brick.

meaning of these dates thoroughly: 1492, 1588, 1689, 1492–1898; observe that 1689 is almost midway between the two. How many of the thirteen colonies had been settled before 1689? This date will have still further importance in connection with the French. Make out a chart with the following facts in separate columns: Name of colony, when settled, where settled, by whom settled.

7. You have seen how the Spanish, the English, and the Dutch planted colonies in America. In the "Notes" is an account of similar attempts made by the Swedes. Why were the English the most successful?
8. It would be a good plan for you to make out a chronological chart, beginning with 1492 and ending with 1689, including dates of principal events in three parallel lines—one for the Spanish, one for the English, and one for the Dutch.
9. This chapter brings you to the end of the first period of English colonial growth in America. Difficulties have been chiefly local or with the Stuart kings. In the next period of their growth the colonies aid the mother country in the struggle against the French for control of North America.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wright, *Children's Stories in American History*, chap. XX; Thwaites, *The Colonies*, chap. IX; Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, I, 82–95, 219–231; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 92–101; Eggleston, *Our First Century*, 83–88, 101–107; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 72–76, 101–107; Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, chap. XXIV.

NOTES

NEW JERSEY (1618).—As New Jersey was at first included in New Netherland, the Dutch erected, as early as 1618, a small fort at Bergen, on the west bank of the Hudson River. When in 1664 New Netherland passed into the hands of the English, the Duke of York sold the land between the Hudson River and the Delaware to his friends Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The province was named New Jersey, after the Island of Jersey, which Carteret had bravely defended for the king's father, Charles I, during the Civil War in England. The first permanent English settlement was made at Elizabethtown in 1665. As the people were allowed freedom of worship and a part in making the laws, a good class of settlers was attracted to New Jersey. The Indians were so kindly treated that they gave no trouble.

In 1674 the province was divided into East and West Jersey, for many years known as "The Jerseys." By 1682 the Jerseys had been sold to a number of Quakers, among whom was William Penn. There were now so many proprietors that much confusion over land titles resulted. The proprietors, therefore, sold in 1702 all their claims to the English crown. From that time the Jerseys were known as New Jersey and were united to New York. New Jersey and New York now had the same governor but each province had its own assembly. In 1738

New Jersey was made a royal province, which it continued to be until the Revolution. Benjamin Franklin's son was the last royal governor.

Delaware (1638).—In 1638 a number of Swedes and Finlanders landed near the present site of Wilmington, Delaware, and built a fort which they called Christina, in honor of their queen. Later, the Swedes made settlements along the Delaware River as far as the site of Philadelphia. They called their colony New Sweden. But the Dutch claimed all this region as a part of New Netherland, and in 1655 they sailed up the Delaware, captured all the Swedish forts, and made New Sweden a part of New Netherland.

When in 1664 the English took New Netherland from the Dutch, Delaware became an English possession. In 1682 William Penn, wishing to secure a free outlet to the ocean, bought from the Duke of York this territory, known at that time as the "three lower counties on the Delaware." Delaware then became a part of Pennsylvania. In 1703 the people of Delaware were allowed a separate assembly; but they had the same governor as Pennsylvania until the Revolution.

D. The French along the St. Lawrence and in the Mississippi Valley (1608–1689)

Cartier discovers the St. Lawrence River.

While the other nations of Europe were establishing their claims in the New World, France was not idle. Unwilling to be left out of the struggle for riches and power, she was making her plans to share in what all were seeking. For many years before her first explorers set out in their effort to find the northwest passage to China[1] her fishermen had been active on the shores of Newfoundland. The name of the first bold and skilful sea-captain who established a claim for France in the New World was Jacques Cartier.

On his voyage of exploration he discovered the St. Lawrence and sailed up the river as far as an Indian village on the present site of Montreal. He made another voyage from France in 1540, and in the name of King Francis I took possession of the country which the Indians called Canada, but attempts to colonize at this time were unsuccessful. In 1603 the French again

[1] In 1524 Francis I planned a voyage under an Italian, Giovanni Verrazano; and an alleged letter from him to Francis, reporting the voyage and the discovery of the Hudson River, was published many years later. But there is no proof that the voyage was ever taken, or that the letter was ever written; and the contents of the letter make the voyage improbable.

attempted settlement in the region extending from New York harbor to Cape Breton, then called Acadia; and again they failed.

Champlain makes the first permanent settlement in Canada (1608).

These failures only make the name of Samuel de Champlain, called the "Father of New France," stand out in a stronger light. In 1608 he made the first permanent French settlement in Canada at Quebec. He was deeply impressed by the beauty of the St. Lawrence Valley and by its valuable resources in forests and furs. Since he was both patriotic and religious, his motive was twofold: to extend the glory of France and of the Catholic Church.

Champlain makes enemies of the Iroquois.

The year following the settlement of Quebec, Champlain discovered and explored the lake which bears his name (1609). It was a curious coincidence that this should have been the same year that Hudson sailed up the Hudson River, for these two events bore an important relation to each other and also had a large influence upon the course of American history.

The story is full of interest. When Champlain settled at Quebec in 1608 he found that the neighboring tribes of Algonquin Indians were bitter enemies of the Mohawks, one of the Five Nations, or Iroquois,[1] in New York. It was difficult for him to keep out of their deadly feud, and he naturally took the side of the Algonquins, whose lands lay nearer to him. He joined them, and in a battle near Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, shot and killed some of the Mohawks. The others were overcome with terror and fled, for they had never before heard the report of a gun. The shame of their defeat led them to hate the French, who had brought victory to the Algonquins. From that day the Iroquois were the bitter enemies of the French

[1] The Five Nations (see page 17), who formed a loose confederacy, were very powerful Indians till their defeat by Frontenac in 1697. They firmly controlled the Mohawk River valley and prevented the French from using the best natural highways from Lake Erie to the Ohio. Their population at the time of their greatest strength was under 20,000. After the Tuscaroras from North Carolina joined them in 1715 they were known as the Six Nations.

colonists, and prevented them, whenever possible, from carrying out their plans of exploration and trade.

The French reach the Mississippi Valley.

When we learn how vast these plans were, we realize how fatal were those shots to the future success of the French in America. They had control of the St. Lawrence, one of the three waterways to the interior of North America; they hoped to gain control of the Mississippi Valley and the Hudson-Mohawk River route, the other two main waterways. Then North America would be in their grasp. The distance from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi was not great. One route lay through Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, by portage into French Creek, through the Alleghany and Ohio Rivers into the Mississippi. Another lay through the same lakes into the Maumee, by portage into the Wabash, and through the Ohio into the Mississippi.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

But the lands of the Iroquois stretched along the shore of Lake Erie, and the ever-watchful enemy blocked both these routes. The French, therefore, were obliged to seek a much longer and more difficult one farther north. This route lay along the Ottawa River into Georgian Bay, through Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, across into the Illinois River, and from there into the Mississippi.

The French establish scattered trading-posts rather than compact settlements.

Slowly and patiently the French extended their claims in this direction. Hunters and fur-traders were very active. They established trading-posts but did not build homes. For many years after the founding of Quebec French colonists came to the New World in small numbers. Of these, some lived by cod-fishing, others by farming, but nearly everybody took a hand in hunting for fur-bearing animals or in trading with the

Indians for furs. Once a year a fair was held at Montreal, where French merchants offered to the Indians knives, hatchets, beads, and various trinkets in exchange for beaver skins. Here and there along the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley French traders built warehouses of logs or stone for storing their furs. The warehouse was sometimes strong enough to be called a fort and was protected by soldiers. Such a fort, or trading-post, was often so well located for trade that on its site in course of time there grew up a large city.

The most important trading centre was at Mackinac, on the Strait of Mackinac, between Lake Huron and Lake Superior. From this point wood-rangers went out by twos or threes and roamed for hundreds of miles through the forest in search of beaver skins, which they procured in part by trading with the Indians and in part by trapping. They were on friendly terms with the Indians, and not only mingled freely with them but sometimes married Indian women. These rugged hunters did much to win over to the French the good-will of the red men.

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

The Jesuit missionaries explore the interior and make converts of the Indians.

Quite apart from the traders were the Jesuit missionaries, who had no thought of engaging in trade nor of securing personal gain of any kind. They were eager only to make Christians of the Indians. In their great desire to do good, they braved dangers and hardships. They suffered hunger and cold, and even torture, at the hands of the ungrateful Indians. Many were burned at the stake, yet they never faltered. From village to village they went, doing acts of kindness and mercy, trying to help the Indians to a better life.

Marquette and Joliet explore the Mississippi.

In following the path of their religious work, the Jesuit missionaries not only gained converts to their faith but with rare intelligence made important explorations and discoveries. It was one of these missionaries, Father Marquette, who was the first to reach the upper Mississippi River. He came to Canada in 1666, fifty-eight years after Champlain made a settlement at Quebec. After five years of teaching among the Indians he built a small mission station on the north side of the Strait of Mackinac. While he was working here among the natives, Indian hunters told him of a great river lying far to the west. He sent this report to the governor of Canada, who had heard similar ones. To verify them the governor sent Louis Joliet and Father Marquette in search of the river.

ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE.

In May, 1673, they made the journey. Upon reaching the Mississippi they explored the river as far south as the mouth of the Arkansas. There they learned that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Pacific Ocean, as they had supposed, and they turned about and went back to Green Bay. The report made by Marquette and Joliet aroused the keenest interest in France. Among those whose enthusiasm was kindled was Cavalier de La Salle, one of the most noted of the French explorers, who gave the best years of his life to an attempt to build up a French empire in America.

La Salle claims the Mississippi Valley for France.

La Salle was a man of great courage and energy. He was an earnest Catholic and ambitious for his own success as well as for the glory of France. When he first came over to Canada, he was possessed by the desire to discover a water route to India, but in 1670, having given up that idea, he

set out on an expedition to explore the Mississippi. His great ambition was to reach its mouth and secure the valley for France, but not until three years later (1682), after many trials and disappointments, did he find the great river and explore it to its mouth. According to French custom, he planted the French arms there and claimed all the land through which the river and its tributaries flowed. He called the country Louisiana in honor of the French king, Louis XIV. This was the year in which Penn was laying the foundations of Philadelphia and seven years before the beginning of the Intercolonial Wars in 1689.

LA SALLE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Why La Salle attempts to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi.

La Salle's aims were twofold: (1) To establish military and trade centres at various points, and (2) to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River. In this way he hoped to gain control of the fur trade for France. He built many forts and then returned to France to get people for his colony. He succeeded in getting men for his enterprise, but in sailing for the mouth of the Mississippi he missed it and landed several hundred miles to the west, at Matagorda Bay. Two years later, after he and his wretched followers had suffered great hardship, he was waylaid and shot dead by some of the wearied men of his company (1687). He had not accomplished his full purpose, but in ex-

ploring the Mississippi and in building forts in the unoccupied territory he had done a great work for France.

France lays claim to the Mississippi Valley.

The planting of the French arms at the mouth of the Mississippi was a very significant event in American history. It was the declaration to the world that France laid claim to the whole Mississippi Valley from the Rocky to the Alleghany Mountains; and this in spite of the fact that the region was discovered by Spanish explorers. But Spain had failed to make known to the world her discovery, and had not attempted to secure the region by colonizing it. La Salle, on the other hand, had bent all his energies to uniting this immense and valuable territory with the St. Lawrence Valley in order to make a vast empire, which would crowd out the English and keep their colonies shut in forever between the Atlantic coast and the Alleghanies.

WOOD-RANGERS.

The French are inferior to the English in colonizing methods.

But his cherished dream of a New France in America, with the seat of government removed to the Mississippi, was never to come true, because the French, like the Spaniards, were inferior to their English rivals in colonizing methods. Most of the colonists to New France were seeking the high profits of the fur trade. Those who did go to Canada to till the soil could not have farms of their own, because the land was held by French seigniors (nobles), who had it directly from the King and who parcelled it out among the settlers for small rentals. Moreover, the paternalistic practice of the King in treating his colonists like children robbed them of the opportunity to think and act for themselves and thus become self-reliant.

While, therefore, pioneers from the sturdy English colonies were pushing westward across the Alleghanies and building

homes in the Ohio Valley, the French were largely engaged in building forts and trading with the Indians of that region, where finally the interests and ambitions of the two rival nations clashed and brought on the Last French War.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Travel on the map with Champlain, Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle. Draw a map showing the great waterways they traversed. Indicate the position of a portage; describe its geography and importance.
2. Consider the great difference between the aims of the French and the English in America. The French came in small numbers and established trading-posts and missions; the English came in large numbers and established permanent homes. Discuss these facts with reference to stable and enduring settlements. Which was bound to come out ahead in the struggle for possession? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Indicate on your map the position of French trading-posts from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, and in the Mississippi basin. Did any of them become cities later on? Explain why in each case.
4. The Jesuit missionaries did a remarkable work in exploration. What do you think of their great purpose to make Christians of the Indians?
5. What were La Salle's aims? Notice what he did in 1682, only seven years before the great landmark, 1689. Did La Salle realize his dream? What do you admire in La Salle? In what ways is the study of such a heroic man helpful to us?
6. Note carefully the position on the map of the Iroquois Indians. Explain how Champlain's mistake caused them to be a deciding influence on colonial history. Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac" will tell you more about them.
7. Turn to the map showing French claims and English possessions in North America and see if you can discover any reasons for the Last French War that follows.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wright, *Children's Stories in American History*, chaps. XIX, XXII; Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West;* Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World;* Eggleston, *Our First Century*, 160–170; Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, 368–382, 441–447; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 103–114.

FICTION: Catherwood, *Romance of Dollard, Story of Tonty.*

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND DEFEATS FRANCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF NORTH AMERICA (1689–1763)

While England and France wage war in Europe, their colonies fight in America (1689–1763).

These events in the Mississippi Valley occurred just before 1689, a great turning-point in American history. When James II, the last of the Stuart kings, fled from England he found refuge in the court of France in 1688. There France took up his cause, and England and France began a series of wars which did not end until 1763. While these wars were going on in Europe, there was fighting between the French and English colonies in America.

The Iroquois largely controlled the regions of the Great Lakes, where the French sought to build up the fur trade. And since the day that Champlain had helped the Algonquins to defeat the Iroquois, these powerful tribes in the Mohawk Valley persistently hindered and harassed the French. On the other hand, the English, when they conquered New Netherland, inherited the good-will and friendly alliance which existed between the Dutch and the Iroquois.

These facts are important to remember because both the French and the English encouraged their Indian allies to make attacks upon frontier settlements during the years that France and England were at war. These wars which were fought between the colonies were called Intercolonial Wars.[1] The last one is the most interesting to us. It is known as the Last French War[2] in America and the Seven Years' War in Europe (1756–1763).

[1] The first three of the Intercolonial Wars, named after the English sovereign reigning at the time, were as follows: King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and King George's War (1744–1748). During the last of these three the New England colonists, led by Colonel Pepperell, captured Louisburg, a great fortress on Cape Breton Island. The French had thought that this stronghold could withstand any attack, and were therefore amazed at the success of New England farmers and fishermen. At the end of the war, however, England gave up Louisburg to France.

[2] To develop union among the English colonies, there were needed such common

Conflicting claims to Mississippi Valley lead to Last French War.

Both England and France claimed the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. England claimed it by the discovery of John Cabot, by exploration, and by Indian treaty, and France by reason of exploration. France had done much more than England to make this region known, but had not occupied the country by settlements. When, therefore, the English colonies, which had been taking root on the Atlantic coast, had spread as far west as the eastern base of the Alleghanies, a struggle for possession was inevitable. By 1750 the French had built a line of sixty forts by way of the Great Lakes, from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. As in the case of the trading-posts, such shrewd foresight was shown in their location that many of them afterward became great business and trade centres. Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis mark the sites of some of these forts, and Vincennes, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Natchez of others. The French had planted colonies also at Mobile in 1699 and at New Orleans in 1718. Thus far they had outgeneralled the English in the New World in establishing a claim to such a vast extent of territory. The English colonists had been so busy with their local affairs that they had thought very little of extending their claims to the land lying west of the mountains; but when at last they realized what had happened, they were ready to make a stubborn fight.

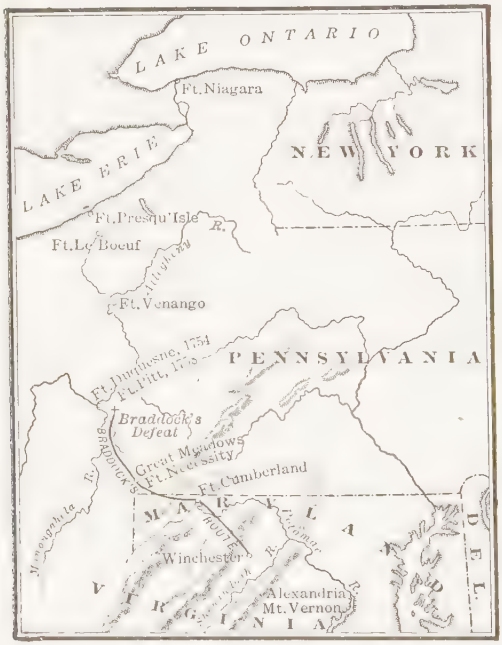
The Ohio company comes into conflict with the French.

French and English traders had come into collision in the disputed territory,[1] and both French and English settlers, appreciating the need of immediate action, made attempts to colonize the region. At about the time that the

interests as the Intercolonial Wars furnished. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York united in King William's War; South Carolina, New England, New York, and New Jersey organized separate expeditions against the French and Indians in Queen Anne's War; the northern colonies engaged in King George's War; and in the Last French War all the colonies stood side by side in a solid array against the French and Indians. This war was national, and led the provincial to begin to think of himself as an American.

[1] The Iroquois, as already said, were the great barrier between the French and the disputed territory, but during this war they were neutral.

French governor was urging the home government to send colonists to the Ohio Valley, some of the planters in Virginia formed the Ohio Company. This company received from the king, on condition of settlement, a grant of 600,000 acres of land between the Great Kanawha and Monongahela Rivers. LawrenceWashington had a large interest in the Ohio Company, and his younger brother George was employed as a surveyor. Explorers, traders, and land-hunters were sent out at once, just as the French were taking formal possession of the disputed region. They were sinking lead plates at the mouths of the streams with inscriptions claiming the land for France.



THE FRENCH IN THE OHIO VALLEY.

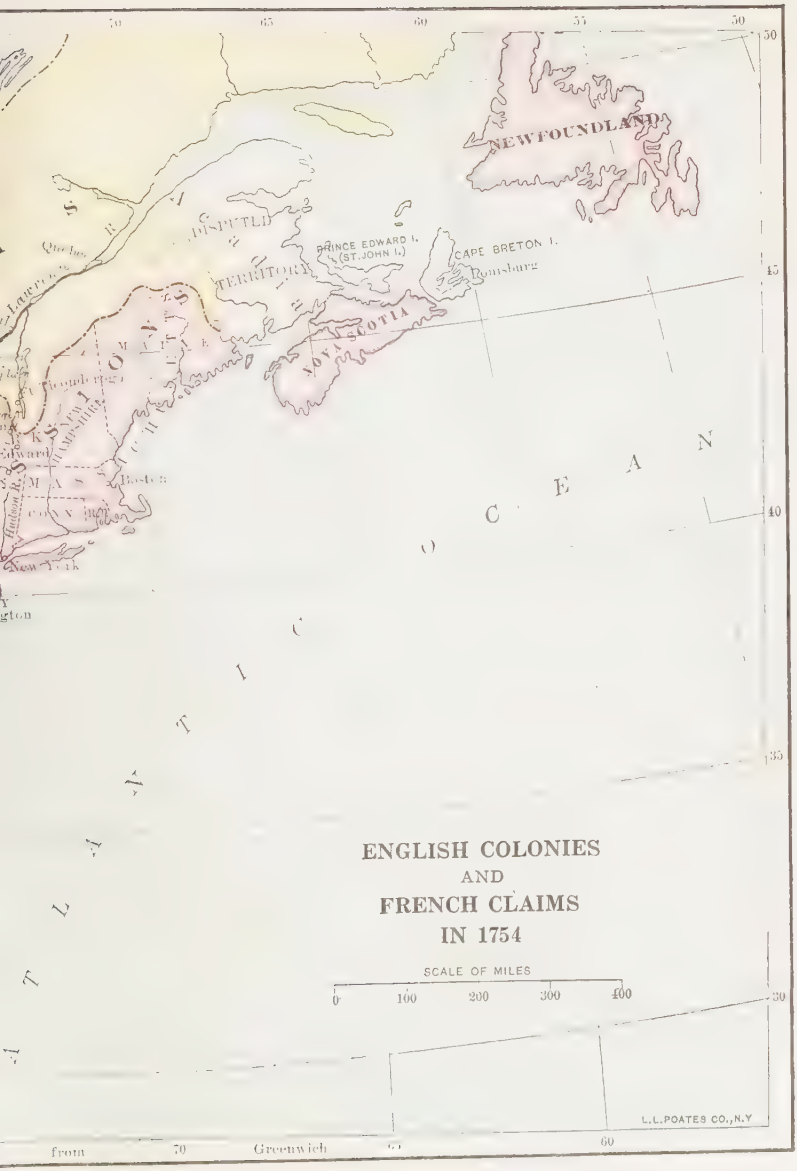
Washington is sent on important mission to the French forts.

To push their claims the French built a line of forts on the direct route from Canada to the Ohio.[1] Governor Dinwiddie sent George Washington, who two years before had been appointed adjutant-general of the Virginia militia, to inform the French commander[2] that he was

[1] These forts included Presqu'Isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango on the Allegheny.

[2] The French Fort Le Bœuf, situated only fifteen miles from Lake Erie, Washington had to travel five hundred miles through the wilderness. By the time he was ready to start back from Fort Venango it was Christmas. The pack-horses were sent back, and Washington and a single companion pressed forward on foot. They

100
95
90
85
80
50
45
40
35
30
L. Superior
Sault Ste. Marie
L. Michigan
L. Huron
Ft. Frontenac
L. Ontario
Detroit
St. Joseph
Ft. St. Louis
Illinois R.
Miami R.
Wabash R.
Ohio R.
Cahokia
Kaskaskia
Vincennes
Ft. Pitt
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
Ft. Rosalie (Natchez)
Mobile
Biloxi
SPANISH CLAIM
GULF OF MEXICO


NEWFOUNDLAND
PRINCE EDWARD I.
(ST. JOHN I.)
CAPE BRETON I.
Louisburg
NOVA SCOTIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLISH COLONIES
AND
FRENCH CLAIMS
IN 1754
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
L.L.POATES CO.,N.Y
from Greenwich

building on English territory and would do well to depart peaceably. At this time Washington was only twenty-one years old, but he was over six feet tall, well built, and of dignified bearing. Moreover, he was cool-headed and fearless. With seven companions on packhorses, he started from Williamsburg, Virginia, on his perilous journey late in October, 1753. About the middle of January, 1754, he returned with the refusal of the French commander to withdraw. Then immediate preparations were made by Governor Dinwiddie to take forcible possession of the land.

FRENCH OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE TIME OF THE FRENCH WAR.

Fighting begins at Great Meadows.

The juncture of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers was called the "Gateway of the West," because a fort there would control the entrance to the Ohio Valley. Both nations had their eyes upon this important site. The English were the first to arrive, but before they could complete their fort they were driven off by a larger force of French, who built a fort and called it Fort Du Quesne. Washington, already on his way from Virginia to occupy the new fort, was met by the unsuccesstul party of English as they returned. He pushed on to Great Meadows, and there learned that the French were marching toward him. Advancing with the aid of an Indian guide and forty men, he met,

had many narrow escapes from death. A treacherous Indian guide, who was not three rods in advance, turned suddenly and shot at Washington, but missed him. Washington took the Indian's gun away and let him go. On reaching the Allegheny River Washington and his companion found it full of floating ice. With nothing but a hatchet, they made a raft and began crossing the river. Shortly afterward Washington was struck by a piece of floating ice and knocked into the water. Darkness falling upon them before they could reach the opposite side of the river, they spent the night on an island, where they nearly froze to death.

in a dark glen near by, a French party that had been sent out to reconnoitre, and exchanged shots with them, killing the French leader and most of his men. On hearing that a body of French with numbers larger than his own was marching toward him, Washington returned to Great Meadows and threw up intrenchments, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he was defeated by the French and was forced to surrender (July 4, 1754). He was allowed, however, to return to Virginia with his troops.

Thus began the war which in its issues was only less important than the Revolution. Although it started in America, England stood back of her colonies. We cannot follow the war in detail, but a few of its important engagements will give an idea of its character.

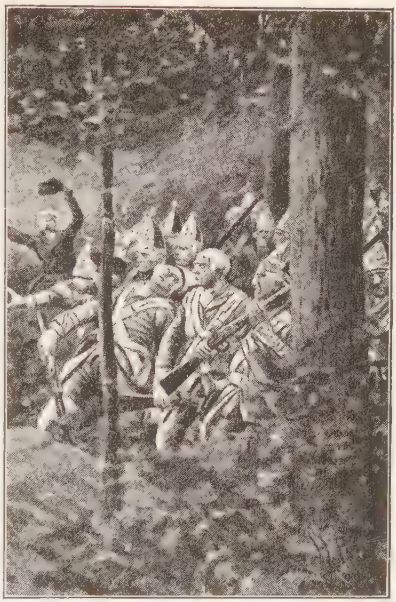
Braddock's expedition ends in failure (1755). In 1755 General Braddock was sent over from England to take command of the forces in America. He was a brave soldier, with much experience on the battle-fields of Europe, but he knew nothing of Indian warfare. Yet he was so self-confident and headstrong that he would not take advice from Washington or Benjamin Franklin, both of whom warned him against Indian ambuscades. Following his own methods, with 2,000 men Braddock started from Alexandria, Virginia, toward Fort Du Quesne, which, as the key to the West, it was his purpose to capture.

AN ENGLISH SOLDIER OF THE PERIOD.

In marching his troops he insisted upon the same order and precision as in the open fields of Europe, and when within eight miles of the fort he was surprised by an ambush, the brilliant uniforms of his army making a splendid target for the unseen foe. The English regulars tried to fight in ranks, but the Indians, firing from behind trees, shot them down by scores. Braddock made a heroic effort to bear up against the foe; four horses were killed under him, and he was

on the fifth when he received a mortal wound. Washington, serving on Braddock's staff, had three horses shot under him, and four bullets passed through his clothes.

Finally, after suffering severely, the regulars fled in shameful rout. The brave Virginians, led by Washington, and fighting behind trees in true Indian fashion, saved the army from utter ruin. Of Braddock's army, 700 out of 2,000 men and three-fourths of the officers were killed. Such was the disheartening failure of Braddock's expedition. The miserable remnant of his army retreated, and the Indians laid waste the settlements in western Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.



THE ENGLISH REGULARS UNDER FIRE FROM THE INDIANS.

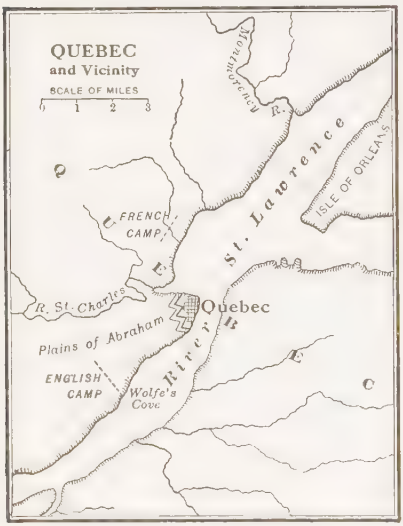
After a painting by Howard Pyle.

At first the French have the advantage.

There had been fighting in the colonies for about two years before war was formally declared between England and France in 1756. During this time the French were successful almost everywhere. The English Government had sent to America very inefficient generals. These men, like Braddock, were unwilling to take advice from colonial officers, and looked with contempt upon colonial troops. Moreover, they so mismanaged the various armies that there was not united and harmonious action. The French, on the contrary, were ably handled by General Montcalm, who so massed his forces at important points that, during these two years, he kept the English out of the disputed territory, and hemmed them in behind the Alleghanies. At the close of 1757 the outlook for the English in America was gloomy.

William Pitt saves the cause of England.

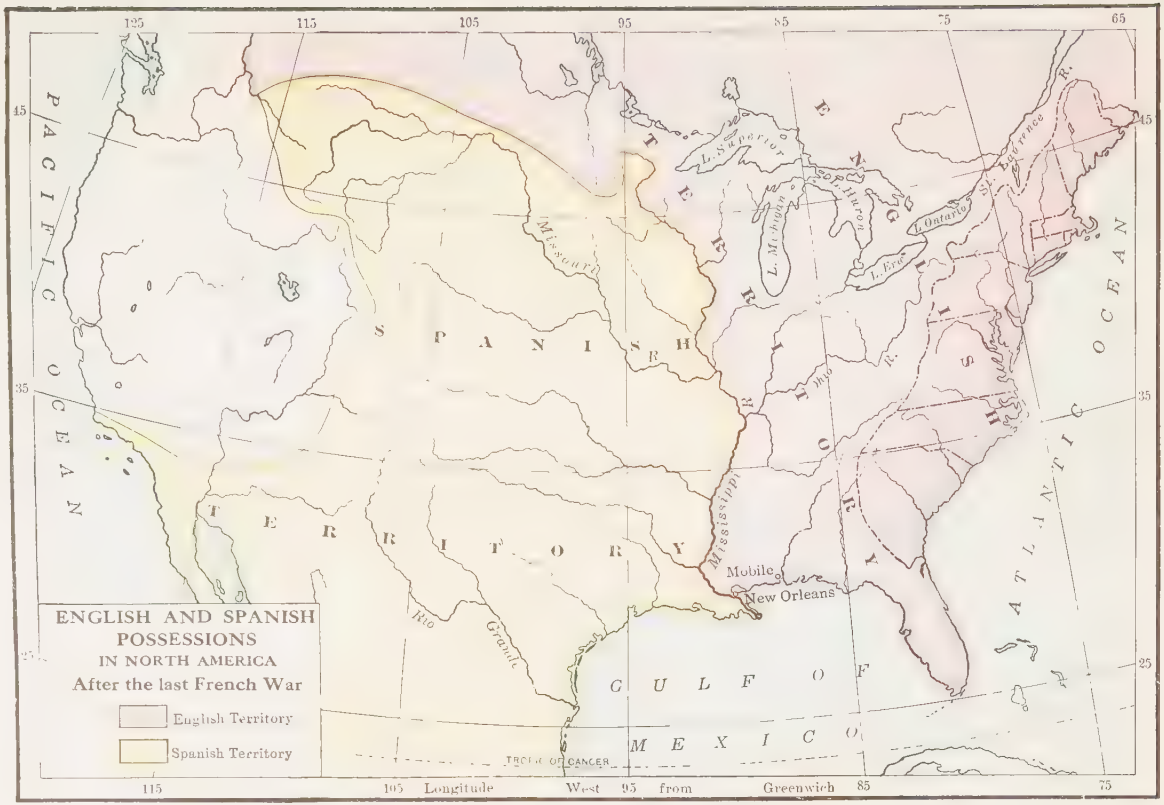
At this critical moment William Pitt as prime minister became the head of affairs in England. He was clear-headed and great-hearted. He loved his country, and was willing to rise or fall with her. He said, "I can save England," and he made good his word. His faith in himself and his country filled the people with hope and confidence. He appointed strong and able officers for the troops in America. He put the colonial officers and troops on an equal footing with the English and pushed forward the various armies in energetic, united action. His spirit was everywhere. In quick succession, during a period of less than two years, Louisburg, Fort Frontenac, Fort du Quesne, Fort Niagara, and other French strongholds fell into the hands of the English.



Wolfe wins a brilliant victory at Quebec (1759).

The last and most notable victory was won by General Wolfe at Quebec. By appointing him to the command of an expedition against Quebec Pitt showed wisdom, for this was the most important place then in possession of the French. General Wolfe was not strong in body but he was a truly great military leader. As brigadier-general at Louisburg he had gained high praise for energy and courage. His soldiers idolized him and they would follow him cheerfully to victory or death. Pitt therefore placed him at the head of an army of 10,000 men for the capture of Quebec.

The city was situated on steep and lofty cliffs overlooking the St. Lawrence, and was protected by the strongest fortress in America. It was the key to Canada. Wolfe and his army tried


ENGLISH AND SPANISH POSSESSIONS
IN NORTH AMERICA
After the last French War
English Territory
Spanish Territory
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
SPANISH TERRITORY
ENGLISH TERRITORY
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Rio Grande
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Mobile
New Orleans
TROPIC OF CANCER
125
115
105
95
85
75
65
45
35
25
Longitude West from Greenwich

in vain for three months to find a weak spot where they might make a successful attack, but were baffled on every hand. The English troops were discouraged; even Wolfe himself began to lose hope, but in spite of sickness and intense bodily suffering he resolved to make one more desperate attempt to take the place.

MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

At last one day, while searching the rugged sides of the cliffs along the river-bank, he caught sight of a pathway some distance above the city. Here was an opportunity not to be neglected. On a dark night, floating his army quietly down the river, he landed his boats at the foot of the rocky heights. With immense difficulty but with great courage the English soldiers pulled themselves and their cannon up the steep ascent. They reached the top and quickly overpowered the guard, which was too much surprised to offer resistance.

In the morning Wolfe's men were drawn up in line of battle on the Plains of Abraham, less than a mile from the walls of Quebec. Montcalm, astonished at what the English had done, would not wait for an attack, but at once led his army out on the open plain. The assault by the English was so violent that the French could not withstand the withering fire. Wolfe led in a furious charge and, although twice pierced with bullets, refused to give up until he received a mortal wound. It was hard for him to die with the issue in doubt, but when, in his last moments, he heard the shout of victory, he said: "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace." Montcalm also was mortally wounded, and in the hour of death was equally heroic. When told that he could not live more than ten or twelve hours, he exclaimed: "Thank God, I shall not live to see Quebec surrendered." A few days later, September 18, 1759, Quebec, the last stronghold of the French in America, passed into the hands of the English.

By treaty of peace New France ceases to exist.

The following year Montreal surrendered, and the northern part of New France ceased to exist. Although the war was over in America, it still continued for three years in Europe, with Spain as an ally of France against England. It was finally closed by the treaty of Paris, signed in

GENERAL WOLFE AND HIS TROOPS ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

1763. By this treaty France ceded to Spain all the territory known as Louisiana lying between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains; also the town of New Orleans, which controlled the navigation of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. To England she ceded Canada and all her territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi.[1] Spain ceded Florida to England in exchange for Havana, which the English had captured during the war. The English had driven out of North America successively the Dutch (1664) and the French (1763). England and Spain alone remained in control of the whole continent.

[1] France retained as fishing stations two small islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Why the French fail and the English succeed.

Why the French failed and the English succeeded can be explained in a very few words. In the first place, when the war began, the French in America numbered not more than 80,000 to 90,000, while the English colonies had perhaps fifteen times that population. It should therefore have been an easy task, it would seem, for the English to defeat the French, if only colonists on both sides had been engaged in the business of making war. We should not forget, however, that regular troops were sent over by both England and France to do much of the fighting. In the second place, although the French colonists were more united than the English, they were under the strict control of a despotic king, or officials who ruled them as representatives of such a king. They were not trained by self-government to manage their own affairs in their own way, as were the English colonists. They were, therefore, lacking in those qualities of self-reliance and independence that made the English colonists superior to them in both war and peace. It was a good thing for the future of Canada and of our own country that the paternalistic and autocratic French system had to give way in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Valleys to the democratic government of the English.

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

Four important results of the war.

There were other far-reaching results of the Last French War which largely affected the future of the English colonies: (1) The war taught them to know and respect each other, gave them a mutual interest, and prepared them for union. Up to this time there had been little in common to bind them together. (2) They were made to realize their own strength and to see that their fighting ability was quite equal to that of the English soi-

diers. (3) The war was a training-school for the Revolution, and such officers as Marion, Stark, Putnam, and Washington received a military experience of great value. (4) Although in fighting the French in America, England believed that she had been protecting the colonies, the colonies believed that they had

Courtesy of the Canadian Pacific R.R.

THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER, QUEBEC, AND THE CITADEL IN THE DISTANCE.

been helping England in establishing English against French claims. This attitude explains the growing sense of power and independence which led later to resistance to British interference and to the final separation of the colonies from the British crown.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. What did the Ohio Company set out to do? Indicate on the map the territory in dispute and tell how the war started at Great Meadows.
2. If George Washington had been in command of the army, what do you think would have been the outcome of the expedition against Fort du Quesne? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Account for French successes in the early years of the war. What had

William Pitt to do with English successes later? What kind of man was he? Note his disposition toward the colonial officers and troops. We shall encounter him again as a friend to the colonies.

4. What do you admire in the character of General Wolfe? For many interesting facts about the personality of this heroic man, see Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."
5. Imagine yourself to have been one of Wolfe's soldiers, and write an account in the first person of scaling the Heights of Abraham and of the battle on the following day.
6. What were the results of the war? How did it change the attitude of the colonists and their possibilities of growth westward? How did it change the attitude of the English Government toward the colonies? What did it mean to the French to fail in America?
7. A review of the events involved in the exploration and settlement of North America will help you to understand clearly the nature of the struggle, mainly on the part of four European countries, to get control of North America. By 1763 England had come out ahead in this struggle. Why?
8. Discuss the defeat of the French in North America as a turning-point in history.
9. Green, in his "History of the English People," says: "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham began the history of the United States." In what sense is that true?

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, chaps. XXXI, XXXII; Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*, chaps. V, VI; Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, chap. XXVII; Fiske, *War of Independence*, 26–38; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, chap. IV; Scudder, *George Washington*; Eggleston, *Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 61–83, 92–105; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 127–144; Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, 40–51, 77–98; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 69–77.

FICTION AND POETRY: Longfellow, *Evangeline;* Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans;* Thackeray, *The Virginians;* Henty, *With Wolfe in Canada.*

NOTE

THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.—When, at the close of the Last French War, England tried to take possession of the territory west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio, there was trouble with the Indians in that region. They were stirred up by the French, who were embittered against the English by their loss of this territory, and the conspiracy of Pontiac was the outcome. This able and daring chief of the Ottawas organized a wide-spread movement for the purpose of destroying all the English settlers west of the Alleghanies. Having won over to his scheme many tribes, he succeeded in capturing eight out of twelve forts, whose garrisons he put to death. In spite of these early successes, however, Pontiac was no match for the well-organized English forces, and after two years the war ended in his complete failure.

CHAPTER VI

HOW THE COLONISTS LIVED AND WHY THEY FELT THE NEED OF UNION (1689-1775)

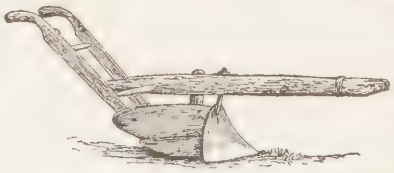
The three geographical groups of the colonies. At the close of the French and Indian wars in 1763 the thirteen original colonies stretched all the way from Maine to Florida. By reason of difference in soil, climate, and other natural and social and economic conditions, they may be divided into three groups: the New England group, or New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; the Middle group, or New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware; and the Southern group, or Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The population was about 2,000,000, one-fourth of whom were slaves. Within the colonies, as a rule, the people lived mainly close by the sea or along the large rivers; only a few settlements reached back into the forests. As farming was a chief occupation, there were few large towns; Philadelphia, with a population of about 25,000, was the largest; Boston was not far behind; and New York numbered 10,000 or 12,000.

A. Life in the New England Colonies

How the people supply their needs. Farming was the principal occupation in New England, but it yielded only a meagre return for a great deal of hard labor. The soil was poor and rocky, and methods of tilling it were crude and primitive, a plow with a wooden mould board and a wooden frame being the one in common use. Moreover, the colonists knew nothing about the elements of the soil or about crop rotation, and little about the use of fertilizers.

What the farmers produce.

The farming lands lay for the most part outside of the towns and villages, which were along the coast. On the farms nearly all the necessaries of life were produced. Besides vegetables, Indian corn, and other food-giving crops, there were raised, also, the wool, the hemp, and the flax out of which the clothes were made. All this work in the fields was done by men. In the home or in a little workshop near by, the farmer and his sons made the crude household furniture, cooking utensils, and farming tools.



A COLONIAL PLOW.

What the women contribute.

A large part of the manufacturing in colonial days was done by women in the home. They carded the wool, spun the hemp, flax, or wool into yarn, wove the yarn into cloth, dyed the cloth and made it into garments. They did knitting and lace-making and braided straw hats. They also moulded candles, boiled soap, churned butter, and curdled cheese. Besides these practical arts, they milked the cows, cooked the food, kept the household in order, and took care of the children. From the days of the early settlements to the time of the American Revolution, in New England and in the other colonies, manufacturing was mostly the work of women.

How fisheries stimulate trade with the West Indies.

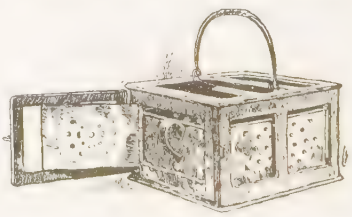
It was chiefly in commerce, however, that New England flourished. Cod and whale of the coast fisheries were the principal articles of export. By 1763 a valuable trade with the West Indies had sprung up and become profitable, cargoes of dried fish being exchanged for sugar, molasses, rum, and slaves. An industry in which the colonists were superior to all others, even in Europe, was shipbuilding. The large forests that stood almost at the edge of the water furnished abundant and excellent material. Boston alone had 600 vessels in foreign commerce, and a thousand in the fisheries and trade, along the coast. Incidentally, through

the fishing and the coast trade, there developed a hardy and expert class of sailors, who later proved excellent material for the United States navy.

Religion stands first with the Puritans.

Religion was the first and highest thought of the Puritan. The minister was held in great esteem. Being usually the leading man in the community, he had much influence in forming public opinion in political and religious matters. The churches, or meeting-houses, as they were called, were simply built without ornament of any kind. They were not heated, even in the coldest weather, yet everybody was required to attend service, absence without good excuse being punishable by fine. The minister sometimes preached in overcoat and mittens. Women carried heated stones in their muffs until hand-stoves came into use. The men worshipped on one side of the church and the women on the other, all being seated according to social position. As the minister often preached two or three hours, the congregation at times grew tired and sleepy. But the tithing-man was always present with his long rod, tipped at one end with brass and with a hare's foot at the other. If a woman went to sleep she was gently touched with the hare's foot; but if an unfortunate boy nodded or otherwise failed in reverent attention, he was less gently rapped on the head with the hard end of the rod. In times of danger the men carried their muskets to church and sentinels stood outside to guard against sudden attacks from the Indians

FIRST MEETING-HOUSE AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.



A FOOT-STOVE.

The Salem witchcraft is a strange delusion (1692).

Amid these stern conditions and the gloom of the religious life of the Puritans arose that strange delusion known as the Salem witchcraft. In Massachusetts it first drew attention in Salem Village (now Danvers), where a half-dozen girls and young women, from ten to twenty years old, became almost insane over it. They mewed like cats, barked like dogs, and went into fits, declaring that certain persons, in league with the devil, bit them, pinched them, or in some way tortured them. On the testimony of these misguided girls hundreds of innocent persons charged with witchcraft were thrown into prison, and nineteen were hanged.

A SCHOOLHOUSE IN EARLY DAYS.

Education comes next to religion with the Puritan.

From the Puritan standpoint education stood next to religion and, indeed, was almost a part of it. A system of public education was, therefore, established soon after the Puritans reached New England. In 1637 the General Court of Massachusetts passed a law requiring that every town of fifty families should provide a school where children could learn to read and write, and that every town of one hundred families should provide a grammar-school, or a school in which Latin should be taught and boys prepared for college. In 1650 Connecticut passed a similar law. By that year each New England colony except Rhode Island was enforcing some degree of education. As a consequence public schools were so general that there were few people who could not read and write. In 1636 Harvard College was established at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in 1701 Yale College was founded at New Haven, Connecticut.

Punishments inflicted in a public way.

In communities so well ordered few crimes were committed and the laws against crime were severe. Many offenses were punishable by death, and punishments were inflicted in the most public way. Stocks, pillories, ducking-stools, and whipping-posts could usually be found in every considerable village. The pillory was a wooden frame, so constructed as to hold fast the head and hands of the offender. The stocks held

PUNISHMENT BY PUBLIC DUCKING.

his feet only. In some cases he was confined in a cage and exposed to the public gaze; in others he was branded with the initial letter of his crime or compelled to wear it in a conspicuous place.

Life and manners in New England.

We turn with some relief from the strict public life of the Puritans to their activities at home. The house was at best small, containing two principal rooms, known as the best room and the kitchen. The fireplace was the most noticeable thing in the kitchen. It could hold a backlog five or six feet long and two or three feet in diameter, and was roomy enough for roasting an entire sheep. As there were no stoves, all cooking was done in the fireplace. By the firesides the mothers and daughters sat

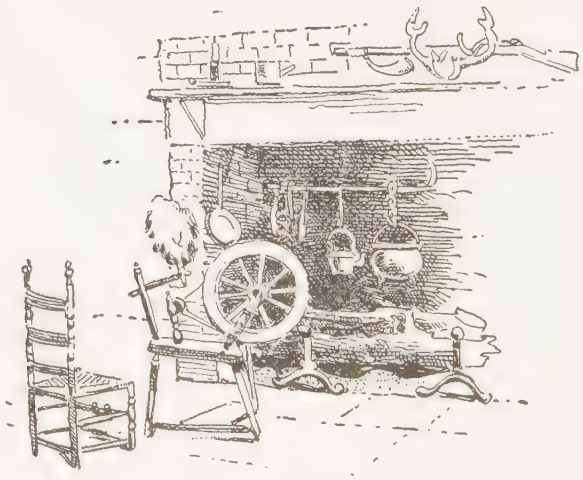
during the long winter evenings with their knitting, spinning, or quilting, while the father read his Bible or smoked his pipe. Sometimes, as the fire blazed, cider-drinking, nut-cracking, and story-telling helped to while away the evening hours.

HARVARD COLLEGE.
After the earliest known print published in 1726.

In general, however, the life was neither bright nor cheerful, as the Puritans were too serious for most kinds of enjoyment. The young people, it is true, had their simple amusements, like house-raising, dancing, and corn-husking parties, and social gatherings for spinning, quilting, and apple-paring, and on these occasions there was much genuine fun. Christmas was not observed, mainly because the Church of England, from which the Puritans had sep-

A NEW ENGLAND FARMHOUSE.

arated, made much of the observance of Christmas. Their chief holiday was Thanksgiving day, which they dedicated in a spirit of thankfulness for the blessings that had come to them in the New World. It was celebrated as now, in the autumn, and was made the occasion for family reunions. At the Thanksgiving dinner the table was loaded with chicken,



A COLONIAL KITCHEN FIREPLACE AND SPINNING-WHEEL.

turkey, nuts, plum puddings, mince pies, pumpkin pies, and many other good things. Weddings were festive occasions. The friends and neighbors were generally entertained at the bride's home, the wedding-feast often lasting several days. Funerals were very expensive. Gifts, such as scarfs, gloves, and rings were generously distributed to the guests, and an elaborate feast of meats and drinks was regarded as an essential feature of the occasion.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Prepare to talk for a few minutes on any one of the following topics: occupations of the people, church worship, education, crimes and punishments, the old-time fireplace, and amusements.

2. Imagine yourself to be a New England boy or girl in colonial days, and write as much as you can on some such topics as the following: how I helped my father in his work; how I helped my mother in her household duties. Such work will greatly aid you in reviving the past.
3. What do you like in the manners and customs of early New England? Read Earle's "Customs and Fashions in Old New England."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Eggleston, *Our First Century*, 180–203, 239–242; Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days*, and *Customs and Fashions in Old New England;* Thwaites, *The Colonies*, 179–194; Gordy, *Stories of Early American History*, 140–149; Eggleston, *The Household History of the United States*, 108–113.

B. Life in the Southern Colonies

Why almost all the people live on plantations.

While in New England the people engaged in other pursuits besides farming, in the Southern colonies nearly all lived on plantations, some of which were several square miles in area. They were scattered along the rivers, sometimes many miles apart, with stretches of thickly wooded land between. As a rule the soil was rich, rivers made excellent highways, and the climate was well suited to agriculture. The methods of tilling the soil were quite as primitive as in New England, yet they yielded large returns of rice and tobacco.

Each planter in Virginia had his own wharf, where he shipped his tobacco to England, and received in return the merchandise he required, including furniture, farming and household utensils, clothing, and various luxuries. For years after Jamestown was settled almost everything that the planter needed for his home and his plantation was brought from England by vessels to his wharf.

As time went on there were, among the indentured servants who came across the sea, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, spinners, and weavers, as well as coopers who made the casks in which the tobacco was shipped.

THE TINDER-BOX WITH FLINT AND STEEL FOR STRIKING A LIGHT.

Among the slaves, also, were some skilled workmen, such as tailors, carpenters, and shoemakers. So before long the simple things needed could be made at home, though articles of a higher quality, such as furniture, china, pictures, and fine

SLAVES LOADING CASKS OF TOBACCO FOR ENGLAND.

clothing, continued to be imported from England. The plantation life was so complete in its self-support that towns were not needed. As a result, up to the time of the Revolution there were few large towns in the South.

Why conditions are not favorable to growth of schools.

This condition of a scattered population did not favor the establishment of good common schools. They were so few in number that the poorer people generally grew up in ignorance. Governor Berkeley said (1670): "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." The rich planters

had tutors at home for their children or sent their sons to Europe to be educated. Being themselves able to live without work, they formed a leisure class, and kept in touch with the

A PLANTER'S HOME.

thought of the day through books. Many of them owned fine libraries.

Life and manners in the South.

The broad plantations and easy habits of the planters naturally influenced their mode of life. The Southern mansion was far different from the modest two-room dwelling of the New England Puritans. It was built of wood or brick, was two stories high, with a spacious veranda and a wide hallway. Close by were the slave quarters, whose wooden cabins, surrounded by gardens and poultry-yards, were often in themselves small villages, alive with activity and swarming with negro children. Planters on the large plantations lived in wasteful extravagance, surrounded with choice dogs and fine horses, and with a coach and six for great occasions. They engaged in such sports as horse-racing and fox-hunting, and were so generous in their hospitality that their mansions were always open to respectable travellers. Thanksgiving day meant nothing to the South, but they celebrated Christmas in a festive mood. Everything was gay and bright in the planter's house, and a bountiful dinner was fo'-

lowed in the evening by dancing to the music of the harpsichord and the violin.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Find points of difference between the people in New England and in the South in respect to education and life and manners.
2. Can you explain why New England had many towns, while there were almost none in the South?
3. What was the difference between the occupations of the South and those of New England? Can you see any reason for this difference?
4. Imagine yourself to have been a boy or a girl in Virginia in the seventeenth century, and write a letter telling something about your daily life at home and your amusements. Which do you think you would have enjoyed more, and why, life in New England or in the South?
5. Read Scudder's "George Washington."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, and *Costume in Colonial Times;* Eggleston, *Our First Century*, 204–228; Thwaites, *The Colonies*, 96–111; Gordy, *Stories of Early American History*, 149–153; Eggleston, *The Household History of the United States*, 99–108.

C. Life in the Middle Colonies

A mixed population in New York and Pennsylvania.

In New England and in the South the colonists were largely English; this was not true in the Middle colonies. Here the population represented many of the countries of Europe. As we have already seen, the Dutch settled New York and the English Quakers Pennsylvania. From about the first quarter of the eighteenth century until the outbreak of the Revolution large numbers of Germans and Scotch-Irish came over to America, the greater part of whom settled in Pennsylvania. By the beginning of the Revolution there were about 100,000 Germans in that colony, making one-third of the whole population. Many even pushed beyond the first settlements far into the backwoods of the Susquehanna valley. There were also many Scotch-Irish who settled first in Pennsylvania, and later made their way beyond the older settlements into the mountains. At the time of the Revolution one-sixth of all the people of the thirteen English colonies were Scotch-Irish, and

one-third of them lived in Pennsylvania. Speaking the same language as the English, this element brought no new customs, and their energy and thrift were well applied to taming the wilderness.

How the people supply their needs.

Throughout the Middle colonies, with the exception of New York, farming was the chief occupation. As in New England, the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom held their place in nearly every household, and homespun was largely worn by all but the rich, who imported their clothing from Europe. As in New England, many of the farms were almost self-sustaining, for not only did the family make their own clothing—the mothers and daughters doing the spinning, weaving, dyeing, and making the woven fabric into garments—but they carried on all the other industries, such as making soap and candles, dressing leather and making hats, which supplied the necessaries of life.

The distinctive occupation of New York and Pennsylvania and by far the most profitable was the fur trade. After furs, grain and flour were the principal exports. Even at that early day New York was the principal port for foreign trade. Since it was a natural port of entry, an extensive commerce with England, the West Indies, and other parts of the world was gradually built up. Merchants became busy and prosperous, employing many ships, and the ship-building industry early developed. The Dutch windmills, with their large canvas sails, furnished power for the sawmills and early became a striking feature of the landscape.

How education is supported.

While the Dutch were in control in New York common schools were well supported, but under the English they were not well kept up. King's College, now Columbia University, was founded by the Episcopalians, however, in 1754. Although in New Jersey and Pennsylvania little was done to provide for education outside of a few larger towns, the Presbyterians founded Princeton University, New Jersey, in 1746; and Benjamin Franklin founded the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia in 1751.

Except for piracy, the Middle colonies were generally free from crime. Hanging, whipping, and the pillory were the

forms of punishment practised, and, as in New England, punishment was inflicted under the public gaze.

Life and manners among the Dutch.

Most picturesque of all colonial dwellings was the Dutch house with its gable roof and its weather-vane on top. In front of the house was the porch, where the family sat during the summer evenings to enjoy the air. Inside there were huge fireplaces with seats built in where those who wished could read or sew. The walls were without paper, but were adorned with many pictures in small frames. The Dutch women were noted for their neatness and for their excellent housekeeping. They scrubbed the floors and sprinkled them with sand every day. The men were slow and easy-going, but they were honest, thrifty, and industrious. They were fond of smoking and liked story-telling and good eating, the Dutch housekeepers being noted for their skill in making doughnuts, crullers, and various kinds of cakes. Among the Dutch a funeral was an occasion for lavish spending. Not only did they distribute to the guests gifts such as gloves, scarfs, and rings, as was the custom in New England, but to each friend a bottle of wine. At one funeral on a great estate 2,000 linen scarfs were distributed.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER.

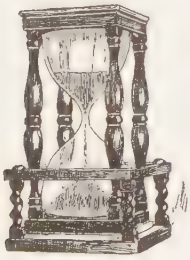
His *Poor Richard's Almanac* appeared in 1732. After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

The towns were situated mostly about the mouth of the Hudson, and from there the settlements extended northward along the river to Albany, and then followed the Mohawk val-

ley. The patroons lived on their vast estates in grand and richly furnished houses facing the rivers. They had many servants, and rented to numerous tenants the farms into which their lands were divided. As these lay on the banks of the rivers, where goods could be easily landed and cargoes sent off, there was no necessity for trade centres or towns.

A HUDSON RIVER MANOR-HOUSE.

The people were more social and more fond of merrymaking than the New Englanders. Their most noted holidays were Christmas, New Year's, St. Valentine's day, Easter, and May-day. The Dutch introduced "Santa Claus" and St. Nicholas at Christmas time and New Year's visiting. In the country, spinning-bees, house-raisings, corn-huskings, and dancing parties were favorite amusements; in towns horse-racing, cock-fighting, balls, and picnics. As a rule there was little luxury, but much quiet contentment and simple living. In the town of New York, however, where people of fashion met in the winter season, there was much gaiety.



AN HOUR-GLASS.

Used in colonial times before watches and clocks were in general use.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. What points of difference do you find between the people of the Middle colonies and those of New England and the South?
2. Discuss the effects of climate, race, and topography on the life and character of the people in the different colonies.
3. Write a short account of life and manners among the Dutch, adding as many facts as you can to those given in the text.

4. Which do you think you would have enjoyed most in early colonial days, life in New England, in Virginia, or in New Netherland?
5. The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, in Irving's "Sketch Book," gives a delightful account of life among the Dutch in New York.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Eggleston, *Our First Century*, 229–238; Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*; Thwaites, *The Colonies*, 218–232; Gordy, *Stories of Early American History*, 153–156.

D. Modes of Travel and Communication

How the people travel. In early colonial days travelling was a serious business, and not lightly undertaken as a means of pleasure. The common way of going from settlement to settlement was by boat, and it was also safer than following trails through the dense forests, where wild animals or hostile Indians might be lurking. When one did travel by land, however, he went on foot or on horseback, for it was a long time, especially outside the more thickly settled regions, before even rough roads were built. This was because there was little demand for them, and because the cost of building was great, there being many unbridged streams. When a traveller had to cross a stream, he might either swim or row, his horse swimming behind him. But for a long time after the coming of the first settlers, people living near the rivers journeyed by rowboat, and those along the coast made common use of sloops. The trip by water from New York to Philadelphia, with a fair wind, required three days. Now the same trip is made in about two hours by rail.

When roads were at last built and regular commerce established between some of the more prosperous settlements, a stage-wagon went twice a week between New York and Philadelphia for purposes of travel and trade. In 1766 a stage-coach was put on the route which made the trip in two days. This stage so greatly shortened the time that it was called a "flying-machine." It could make the journey from Boston to New York in four days. Its arrival, with news of the outside world, was an exciting event. No less so was its departure, when the driver, after stowing away passengers and baggage, blew his

horn, cracked his whip, and the great, swaying coach lumbered off on its slow and toilsome journey. The roads were so bad

MAKING A JOURNEY THROUGH THE WILDERNESS WHEN ROADS AND STAGE-COACHES WERE FEW.

that often the travellers were compelled to alight and help pry the coach-wheels out of the mire.

How they communicate.

While the means of communication were so limited, it was difficult for the colonies to know and understand each other. People depended mainly upon letters for news. These were carried as mail on horseback. Newspapers did not at this time tell much about what was going on in the colonies. They were full of advertisements and what was taking place in Europe. The first newspaper was the *Boston News Letter* (1704). By the close of the Last French War there were from thirty to forty newspapers in the whole country.

E. Growth toward Union in the Colonies

Three political groups of colonies.

As the various colonial governments were modelled after the English, they were much alike in form. Each colony had its governor and a law-making body consisting of the coun-

cil[1] and the assembly. The council was the governor's body of advisers. They aided the governor in executing his duties, and generally took part in making the laws. The assembly was elected by the people and, therefore, was the stronghold of their rights. It alone could levy taxes and in this way it controlled the public money.

But the manner of choosing the governor made a great difference in the amount of freedom which each colony enjoyed. In 1763 there were three political groups[2] of colonies. The first, including Rhode Island and Connecticut, may rightly be called the *republican* group, because the people elected the governor; the second, including Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, may be called the *proprietary* group, because the proprietors appointed the governor; and the third, containing the remaining colonies, may be called the *royal* group, because the King of England appointed the governor.

Trouble arises between the governors and assemblies of the royal and proprietary colonies.

Connecticut and Rhode Island had very liberal charters, and governed themselves without any interference from the mother country. They were, even at this early period, little republics. In the royal and the proprietary colonies there was almost a continual struggle between the governors and the colonial assemblies. The points at issue were sometimes petty, sometimes serious, but they always involved the laying of taxes, and the discussions were often bitter. In New York, for instance, the burning question was whether the governor should receive a fixed salary (1745–1755). The members of the assembly objected, as they feared that the governor might thus become independent of the people. They believed that a fixed salary would be in the nature of a tax by the crown and they declared that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the people. In all the proprietary and royal colonies long and bitter

[1] The members of the council were chosen in various ways: by the king, as in Virginia; by the proprietary governor, as in Pennsylvania; by the legislature, as in Massachusetts; or by the people, as in Connecticut.

[2] These political groups should not be confused with the groups named on page 102.

conflicts were waged over raising money for the public defense, especially during the Intercolonial Wars (1689–1763). As the real source of power in any government is the authority that lays the taxes, the assemblies usually came out ahead.

The results were twofold: (1) The people received valuable political training, and (2) they learned that they had a common interest in defending their rights. The most familiar attempts to enforce personal rule, or royal prerogative, as it was called, were the cases of Berkeley in Virginia and Andros in Massachusetts. They did much to arouse the spirit of opposition in the two leading colonies, and these colonies were afterward the first to break out in open rebellion against English authority.

Why the colonies feel the need of union.

Such attempts as these made the colonists gradually realize their great need of union. We have seen how the feeling of common dangers from Indian wars, and, later, from the various wars with the French drew the colonists together. The common grievances of the assemblies against the royal and proprietary governors united them still more closely, for they realized that their liberties were endangered by British control.

They still lacked sufficient foresight and sufficient sympathy for one another to make formal union for defense. The various assemblies, in their narrow, provincial spirit, would not act together, and when their own territory was not in danger of attack they were slow to enlist soldiers, build forts, or send armies into the field. As a result, there was little united effort to ward off any great danger such as threatened the colonies in the Last French War and in Pontiac's conspiracy. This lack on the part of the colonists explains the purpose of James II in appointing Andros governor of New England, New York, and New Jersey. He supposed he would strengthen thereby the Northern colonies by uniting them under one government that could act with energy and promptness for defense of the king's rights, but the colonists were not so much interested in the king's rights as they were jealous of their own safety.

In so far as they sought union at all, they sought it to make

themselves stronger in opposing the British Government and to extend and increase their own rights. They had yet to learn the full value of pulling together.

Why Franklin's plan of union fails.

From the beginning of the English settlements in America a democratic spirit was fostered by their separation from England, and by the individual freedom of the colonists. Something more than a spirit of democracy or self-government, however, was needed to make a strong people; a central authority was necessary to lay taxes for mutual defense. Benjamin Franklin clearly understood this need when he proposed his famous plan of union at the Albany convention (1754). According to this plan, each colony was to elect representatives to a grand council, similar to our present national Congress. This grand council was to have the power of levying taxes upon the people for maintaining and raising armies and otherwise providing for the defense of the colonies. Moreover, like our present Congress, this council was to exercise supreme authority in questions affecting all the colonies. This was known as the Albany plan of union. Great Britain did not like the plan, because of the fear that it might give the colonies too much power. The colonists did not like it, because they were unwilling to give up the right of taxation, which they felt should be exercised by their colonial assemblies.

BIRTHPLACE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, BOSTON, MASS.

England and her colonists do not understand each other.

The misunderstanding on both sides is well set forth in a statement made by Governor Bernard in 1765, when he said: "In Britain the American governments are considered as corporations empowered to make by laws existing only during the pleasure of Parliament. In America they claim to be perfect states not otherwise dependent

on Great Britain than by having the same king." It was quite impossible, on one hand, for the mother country to realize that the colonies had become grown-up states, and that the people were more closely identified with the country in which they lived than with England. On the other hand, the colonists could not foresee that out of Franklin's plan would come not only unity but also greater liberty than they had ever enjoyed before. There is no doubt that the spirit of union was lacking as yet among the colonies, and that they had to go through years of struggle against common dangers before that spirit could be developed. We shall see, however, that even though Franklin's plan failed it bore fruit because it led many people to think seriously about the advantages of union.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Discuss the nature of the struggle between the various assemblies on the one side and the loyal and proprietary governors on the other. What powers were the colonists zealously guarding? In this connection, review the struggle between Governor Berkeley and the people of Virginia; also that between Governor Andros and the people of Massachusetts. If you get clear ideas about these struggles, you will better understand the causes of the Revolution which followed.
2. Why was there need of union among the colonies? What attempts at union had been made? Why did the royal governors wish union among the colonies? On what grounds did the colonies seek union? What was Franklin's plan of union? Why did it fail and what were its results?
3. Explain why the struggles with the royal and proprietary governors and also with the French and the Indians aided in bringing the colonies into closer sympathy and union. In this connection, study the New England Confederation and Franklin's plan of union.
4. Compare the Northern and the Southern colonies as to local government, industries, labor conditions, schools, and churches.
5. The statement by Governor Bernard will help you to work out the elements which separated the colonists and those which united them. What in your judgment was the chief thing that tended to unite the colonists?

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States*, 140–153; Fiske, *War of Independence*, 34–38; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 132–157.

CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIES REVOLT AND ACHIEVE THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE (1775–1781)

A. The Causes of the Revolution

Laws to regain the control of American colonial commerce and manufactures irritate the colonists.

The purpose of European countries in planting colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was to establish trade centres for the extension of their commerce. In accordance with this theory of colonization, England valued her American colonies according to the wealth they produced. To regain control of their trade, which the English had lost during their wars with the Dutch, Parliament began, in 1651, to pass Navigation Laws and Acts of Trade. These laws required (1) that the colonies should ship such colonial products as sugar, tobacco, iron, furs, and lumber only to English ports; (2) that they should buy European goods only in England and bring them to the colonies only in English ships; (3) that the colonies should not manufacture any article that could be manufactured in England.

These laws, so beneficial to English trade, would operate unjustly for the colonists in the following ways: (1) Whatever colonial products the English manufacturer needed he could buy of the colonies at his own price; (2) as the colonists were compelled to buy European goods in England, they had to pay whatever English merchants charged, or not buy at all; (3) while the law providing that all European goods should be imported in English ships would put money into the pockets of the English shipowner, it would almost ruin the ship-building industry in the colonies and throw thousands of American sailors out of employment.

How the Sugar Act injures the West India trade and increases smuggling.

In 1733 the English Parliament passed the famous Sugar Act, by which a heavy duty was laid upon sugar and molasses imported from the French islands of the West Indies in exchange for lumber and fish. Its purpose was to protect English planters in those islands. But there was a special advantage to New England in trading with the French, for they would buy inferior qualities of fish which were not salable elsewhere, while their low-priced sugar and molasses could be made into rum, for which there was a good demand in New England. Some of it was used in exchange for African slaves, to be sold to the Southern colonies.

The Sugar Act, therefore, if enforced, would greatly injure New England trade with the West Indies, and this trade was one of the principal sources of wealth to New England merchants. Threatened with financial ruin, they had to choose between that and smuggling. Believing the law was an unjust interference with their natural rights, they chose smuggling, and for a time England allowed it to pass unnoticed.

New British policy of taxation is unpopular in the colonies after the Last French War.

When, however, after the Last French War the British Government adopted a new colonial policy the situation changed. The wars with France had been costly and England now had a huge national debt. The king's representative in the ministry, Lord Grenville, maintained that since this debt was incurred in the defense of the colonies, they should pay their share of it. Grenville seemed to forget not only that the colonies were themselves heavily in debt on account of the war, but also that the wars were fought quite as much to protect English trade as to defend the colonies.

The truth was that for a hundred and fifty years Great Britain had been so taken up with her home troubles and with her life-and-death struggle with France for world empire that she had left her colonies pretty much to themselves. They had been free to make their own laws, levy their own taxes, and manage their own affairs with little interference. In fact, the

American colonies had now become a people of 3,000,000 with interests of their own, and with a belief in their own strength and high destiny. In the new country, where it was easy for men to own their homes, they led a self-reliant, independent life, and were ready to insist upon their rights—the rights of native-born Englishmen. The mother country was not aware of this situation when she started out on her new policy of enforcing the trade laws, and while it was of the highest importance that she should keep the colonies contented and loyal to herself, those in control of the government acted toward them as if they were merely great trading centres existing only for the good of the mother country.

JAMES OTIS.

Thus far the colonists had submitted to taxes upon their trade and industries because (1) it was usual, the world over, for colonies to have their trade thus taxed by their mother country; (2) the English navy protected the commerce of the colonies; and (3) the trade laws were not strictly enforced. We shall see how the new policy, which was expected to strengthen the unity of the British Empire by bringing the colonists more directly under control, failed by driving the Americans first into a closer union with each other and then into open rebellion against the mother country.

Otis attacks right of Great Britain to tax colonies or issue writs of assistance against smugglers.

One of the first methods adopted to enforce the trade laws was the use of legal papers called writs of assistance. The writs were in the nature of general search-warrants that empowered officers to go into any warehouse or private dwelling in search of smuggled goods. In this way many thousand dollars' worth of private property was seized and confiscated. The people were indignant. In a test case against

what they considered an invasion of their rights (1761), James Otis, of Massachusetts, defended the colonial merchants. He made an impressive speech, in which he earnestly contended that the colonists were not bound to obey the laws which were not passed by their own representatives or to pay taxes to any country in the legislature of which they were not personally represented. The key-note of this speech was "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and it sounded from Massachusetts to Georgia.

The Stamp Act is passed as the most practical means of raising money in the colonies.

Unwilling to believe that the colonies could not be brought under subjection, the British Government, in 1764, took another hazardous step by levying a direct tax upon them.[1] The measure, known as the Stamp Act, became a law in March, 1765. It required the colonies to use stamped paper for newspapers, almanacs, pamphlets, advertisements, and all kinds of legal documents. The stamps cost all the way from one cent to fifty dollars each. Grenville said this tax would be fair because it would fall upon all the colonies alike. He had asked them to devise a plan of their own and had given them one year to work it out, but they had done nothing.

How the money was to be spent.

Although the wars with the French had ended, a standing army of 10,000 men was to be kept up in America for the purpose of protecting the colonies from the Indians or from any foreign foe. If such an army was to be maintained in the colonies for their defense, Grenville and the British ministry reasoned that the colonies should share in the expense. It should be noted also that all of the money to be raised by the Stamp Act was to be spent in America. Yet it was for the purpose of maintaining what many regarded as a foreign army, and was taxation without representation.

[1] A tax levied directly on a person or property is a direct tax. One levied on trade is an indirect tax. When a man pays a tax on his house, his horse, his automobile, or any other form of property, he pays a direct tax. When he buys goods on which the government has laid an import duty he pays this duty in the increased cost of the goods, and therefore pays an indirect tax.

How the colonists resist the Stamp Act.

The Stamp Act aroused a storm of angry opposition throughout the colonies. There were public demonstrations everywhere. Organizations called "Sons of Liberty" were formed. Merchants banded together to import no more goods from England until the Stamp Act should be repealed. They urged the necessity of manufacturing their own goods in the colonies. They decided to stop eating mutton that they might have more wool for making cloth. The day the Stamp Act went into effect was made a day of mourning.[1] Bells were tolled, flags were lowered, and business houses were closed to indicate that liberty was dead.

Patrick Henry attacks the taxation policy of the British Government in a fiery speech.

In May the Virginia legislature met at Williamsburg. It included the most eminent men of Virginia, and they were anxious to act wisely. They were men stanchly loyal to America and yet, being attached by many ties to England, they hesitated to separate themselves by an act of war. In the midst of the general doubt and perplexity Patrick Henry,[2] a new member with no recognized standing among the political leaders of Virginia, arose and introduced a series of resolutions. In these he declared that the "General Assembly of the colony had the sole right and power of laying taxes in the colony."

An exciting debate followed. George Washington was present, and Thomas Jefferson, a young law student, stood at the door, earnestly listening. He tells us later that the discussion was "most bloody." The opposition only fired the passion of Henry, and in a burst of wrathful eloquence he ended his speech in words never to be forgotten: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles

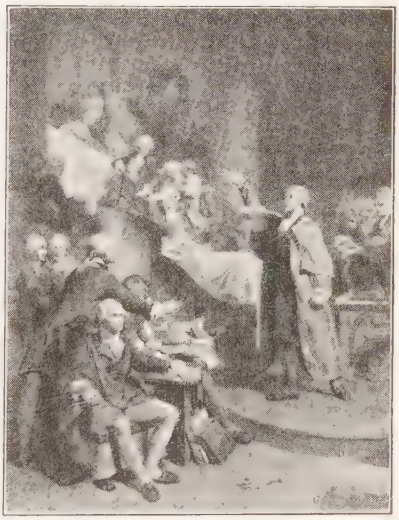
[1] Brave women did their share, also. They formed organizations called "Daughters of Liberty," and agreed to buy no more goods imported from England. They formed spinning societies, and wove cloth for the men to wear.

[2] He was at this time just twenty-nine, tall in figure, but stooping, with a grim expression, small blue eyes which had a peculiar twinkle, and wore a brown wig without powder, a "peach-blossom coat," leather knee-breeches, and yarn stockings. He had ridden to Williamsburg on a "lean horse," and carried his papers in a pair of saddle-bags. . . . As Henry came out of the capitol a man of the crowd slapped him on the shoulder and cried: "Stick to us, old fellow, or we are gone." —Cooke's *Virginia*.

the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"— "Treason! Treason!" wildly shouted some of the members. The orator paused a moment and then calmly added—"may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." The excitement caused by this speech travelled like wild-fire through the colonies. It helped to unite them for open resistance.

The Stamp Act Congress meets for a common purpose (1765).

In passing the Stamp Act the English Government had made the huge blunder of giving the colonies a common grievance. This measure furnished them a common ground for resistance and a common purpose for united action. Accordingly, it had a most important and significant result in strengthening the union of the colonies. In June Massachusetts sent out a call for a general congress, to discuss the situation and agree upon some plan of action. Representatives from nine of the colonies met at New York in October and passed resolutions similar to those of Virginia. They sent a remonstrance to Parliament, declaring that it had no right to tax them because it did not represent them; and that the people of the colonies could not, "from their local circumstances," be represented in Parliament. To this warning George III gave no heed.



PATRICK HENRY SPEAKING BEFORE THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

How united action causes repeal of Stamp Act.

But the most effective action of the colonies was their agreement to buy no goods from England. It succeeded when argument failed. As one-third of England's trade was with the colonies, this boycott on English goods caused

a serious loss to English merchants, and they eagerly begged Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act.

The debate in Parliament over the repeal showed that many English statesmen stoutly defended the colonies in their opposition to the direct taxation without representation. Among these were Pitt, Conway, and Barré in the House of Commons, and Camden and Shelburne in the House of Lords.

William Pitt champions the cause of the colonists and Parliament repeals Stamp Act.

The greatest of these friends of America and the most powerful English leader at that time, as we have already noticed, was William Pitt. In words that thrilled the House of Commons and that stir our hearts to-day he exclaimed: "In my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. . . . The gentleman tells us that America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted." At these words the members started up as if they had received a blow. The speaker repeated: "I rejoice that America has resisted"; and then continued: "Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." Parliament voted to repeal the act, but declared its right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

The colonists contend for actual representation in their own colonial assemblies.

And yet it was this very right to tax an unrepresented people that the colonies had called in question. They claimed that as native-born Englishmen[1] in America they had, according to their charters, the same rights and privileges as native-born Englishmen in the mother country. The difference between the man of Kent (England) and the man of Massachusetts was that the first was taxed by Parliament and the second by the Massachusetts colonial assembly. In Massachusetts, as in all the other colonies, each member of the

[1] Franklin had stated the principle precisely in 1755 when he said: "British subjects, by removing to America, cultivating a wilderness, extending the domain and increasing the wealth of the mother country at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, ought not and in fact do not thereby lose their native rights."

colonial assembly was supposed to represent the people in whose district he lived and by whose votes he was elected. This was the American idea of actual representation, according to which the colonies were not represented in Parliament.

Many Englishmen contend that the colonists are "virtually" represented in Parliament.

However, many Englishmen who argued that the colonists should cheerfully submit to the stamp tax or to any other tax levied by Parliament contended that the colonists were "virtually" represented in Parliament. These men declared that every member of Parliament not only represented all the people in England, but also all the people in the British Empire. Said Mansfield in the House of Lords: "There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the colonies are as much represented in Parliament as the greatest part of the people of England are represented. . . . A member of Parliament, chosen by boroughs, represents not only the constituents and inhabitants of that particular place, but he represents the inhabitants of all the colonies and dominions of Great Britain." On the other hand, William Pitt with deep feeling exclaimed: "The idea of virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of a man!"

WILLIAM PITT.

American Tories oppose open resistance to the British policy of taxation without representation.

But even in America a small group, including royal governors and office-holders under the king, upheld the British Government. A larger group did not approve of Parliament's oppressive measures, but declared that, as loyal subjects, they were opposed to violence. Both these groups of Loyalists, or Tories, as they were called, deplored open resistance because they feared that it might lead first to the use of force by England and later to war. A third group of Tories feared war be-

cause it might injure their business, or even cause the loss of their property. All these groups stood out against the Patriots, or those who would not submit to the British Government's unjust policy of taxing the Americans without their consent. The issue between the Patriots and the Loyalists was becoming more clearly defined every day.

Taxation without representation in England; Parliament not really representative there.

The Revolution in America was more than a local movement. A similar struggle was at the same time going on in England, and just as there were some Americans who did not oppose England, there were some Englishmen who upheld America. It was in each country a prolonged struggle between hostile principles. There was taxation without representation in England as well as in America, and many Englishmen, like William Pitt and Edmund Burke, were as much opposed to it there as men like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry were opposed to it in America.

At that time the membership of Parliament did not fully represent the people of England. Great towns like Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds, for instance, were not represented at all, while members were returned for boroughs that had no existence except in name. In a population of 8,000,000 only about 160,000, or one-tenth of the men of voting age in England, could vote. A few great families controlled the House of Commons. Certainly the majority of Englishmen suffered like the colonists from taxation without representation. Among those who urged upon the people the justice of parliamentary reform, with a fair and full representation of English people in the House of Commons, was William Pitt.

Why George III insists on taxing the colonists.

But just as George III determined to establish his own personal rule in England, by making Parliament represent him and a few great families that were in agreement with his views, so he made the problem of taxing America a personal one. If America should succeed in the struggle for "no taxation without representation," there was little doubt that in time a similar struggle would succeed in England. King George, there

fore, was much disturbed when the Stamp Act was repealed. He could not let the matter rest, and in the very next year (1767) he again tried to force new taxes upon America. We shall now see whether he succeeded.

A new kind of tax is levied (1767).

In 1767 Charles Townshend, acting for the king, induced Parliament to levy new port duties on a few articles, including glass, lead, paper, and tea. The colonies had objected to a stamp tax because it was a direct tax. As these new taxes were indirect, Townshend and King George thought the Americans might not refuse to pay them.

Why the colonists object to the new taxes.

The money raised by these taxes was to be used to pay the colonial governors and judges, as well as to support a standing army. When we recall the bitter struggle between the people and the royal governors over this very question of salaries (see page 118), we can appreciate how unpopular the measure was. Still more intolerable was the idea of supporting an army, the real purpose of which, it might naturally prove, was to maintain the authority of the king and deprive them of their rights as citizens.

The new taxes, therefore, were opposed quite as violently as the Stamp Act had been. Massachusetts led in the opposition. She sent out a circular letter, proposing to the other colonies united action; and the colonies agreed to import no goods from England, thus making their displeasure keenly felt by English merchants and ship-owners.

The British soldiers, sent to enforce revenue laws, fire on citizens of Boston (1770).

To suppress the open rebellion and to enforce the revenue laws, King George sent troops to America. In the autumn of 1768 they arrived in Boston, where their presence was regarded as a menace. They were a constant source of annoyance, and quarrels between them and the people were of frequent occurrence. Finally in March, 1770, the crisis came in a disturbance which took place in State Street, in front of what was then the Custom-House, now the old State-House. The soldiers fired upon the people, killing three and wounding many

others. Excitement ran high. News of the "Boston Massacre" spread swiftly to the near-by towns.

The next morning Governor Hutchinson was advised by his

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.
From an engraving by Paul Revere.

council to remove one of the two regiments from Boston. But this plan did not satisfy Samuel Adams and the people. In the afternoon an immense town meeting was held in the Old South Church to take action on the critical situation; and when the question was put as to what should be done, 3,000 voices shouted: "Both regiments or none!" It seemed expedient to the governor to yield to the people's demand, and all the troops were withdrawn to an island in the harbor.

Committees of correspondence are formed to spread information (1772–1773).

United action among the Massachusetts towns became a pressing need. No one could tell what new danger might threaten at any hour. So on the proposal of Samuel Adams in town meeting, committees of correspondence were appointed in the various towns (1772). In the following year Dabney Carr, of Virginia, suggested committees of correspondence for all the colonies, who could thus easily keep in touch with one another through letters carried by swift messengers and could act quickly. This step was a bold one. It led first to the Continental Congress and then to open war.

Colonial merchants refuse to import goods, and taxes are repealed except on tea.

The resistance of the colonies was so obstinate that the new taxes were no more successful than the Stamp Act had been. Colonial merchants refused to import goods, and English merchants and ship-owners begged Parliament for a repeal of the law. But the king would not yield. He resorted to a foolish device by which he hoped to maintain his point. He took off all the taxes except the one on tea. "There must be one tax to keep the right to tax," he said. The tax on tea was so small that the colonists could buy tea cheaper than it could be bought by the people in England; cheaper even than it could be bought when the colonists smuggled it from Holland. Still they refused to import the taxed tea.

Samuel Adams[1] presides at a meeting of protest which ends in the "Boston Tea Party" (1773).

Then England arranged with the East India Company to ship cargoes of tea to such important ports as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. When the tea arrived the people in New York and Philadelphia refused to let

[1] Samuel Adams has been called the "Father of the Revolution." He was distinguished for his courage and perseverance and for his ability as a leader of men. Like Jefferson, he was full of sympathy for the toiling masses and easily won their confidence. In 1774 General Gage offered him money and official advancement if he would give his influence and services to the king. Although Samuel Adams was poor, yet, true to himself and his countrymen, he scorned the offer. He was the first American to advocate independence of England, and was one of the foremost leaders that prepared the people to adopt the Declaration of Independence.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

it be landed, and the people in Charleston stored it in damp cellars, where it spoiled. In Boston the people were determined to send it back, but Governor Hutchinson refused to let this be done. For nineteen days the struggle continued. On the nineteenth day the excitement in Boston was intense. If the cargo of tea should stay in the harbor until the twentieth day, the law would permit it to be landed. Therefore a town meeting was called in the Old South Church[1] and it lasted all day. At the meeting, in the church and the streets outside, were 7,000 men from Boston and the surrounding towns, waiting anxiously for the outcome.

At nightfall a messenger brought word from the governor that he would not permit the tea to be returned to England. Then Samuel Adams, moderator of the meeting, arose and said: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." As if this was a signal, a war-whoop was heard, and forty or fifty men dressed as Indians proceeded down the street toward Griffin's Wharf. Boarding the tea-ships, they ripped open every chest and spilled the tea into the harbor. A large party of people stood by while the "Indians" were

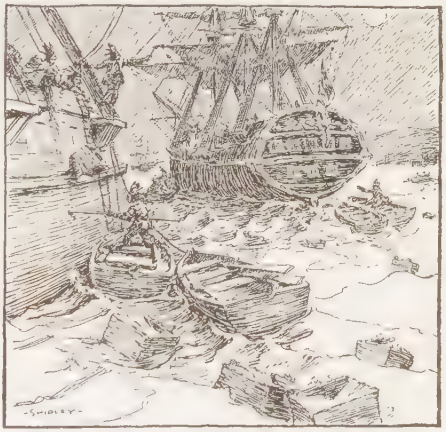
OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

[1] The Old South Church is still standing on Washington Street at the corner of Milk Street.

emptying the chests, but every one was quiet and orderly. This was the famous "Boston Tea Party," at which some of the leading citizens of Boston were present (1773).[1]

Boston port is closed and Massachusetts charter is taken away as punishment.

King George was wrathful at these high-handed proceedings. To punish Boston, Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill, which closed the port of Boston to all trade until the town should pay for the tea that had been destroyed, valued at about $90,000. No vessel was allowed to sail into or out of the harbor. Another law, known as the Massachusetts Act, annulled the colony's charter and took away free government from the people. A military governor, General Thomas Gage, was appointed. Like Andros, the Stuart governor, Gage stood for the tyranny of the British king.



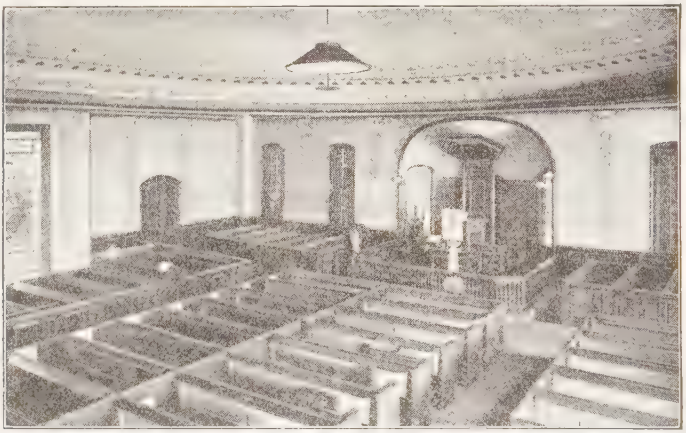
THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

The colonies unite in sympathy with Massachusetts and call the Continental Congress (1774).

By thus making an example of Boston, the English Government hoped to frighten the other colonies into submission. Contrary to expectation, the effect of the oppressive measures was to unite the other colonies in sympathetic support of Massachusetts. Through the committees of correspondence they acted promptly. Provisions were sent from every direction to suffering Boston. Help came from even the far-away Carolinas. Patrick Henry[2]

[1] A tablet on Atlantic Avenue now marks the spot where the "Tea Party" reached the wharf.

[2] This famous speech by the great orator of the Revolution was made in "Old St. John's Church," Richmond, Va. The church is still standing.



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, RICHMOND, VA.

angrily cried: "We must fight. I repeat it, sir; we must fight. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

PATRICK HENRY.

The excitement was everywhere intense. United action was necessary. The Continental Congress, meeting in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, was the outcome (September 5, 1774). All the colonies except Georgia[1] were represented. This Congress declared the colonies had a right to govern themselves and levy their own taxes. It further declared that, should England attempt to force Massachusetts into submission, the other colonies would join Massachusetts in forcible resistance. A long step had been taken toward independence.

[1] Georgia people were in sympathy with the Congress, but their royal governor prevented the appointment of delegates.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Throughout your consideration of the causes of the Revolution keep this statement in mind: "Above all the sordid motives of British merchants and Boston smugglers and the taxes was yet the big fundamental issue of justice and welfare."—Becker.

2. What advantage did New England merchants have in trading with the French islands in the West Indies? Do you think these merchants were right in smuggling? Give reasons for your answer. How were the writs of assistance connected with smuggling?

3. Did the colonies have, or did they propose, any adequate method of raising their share of the taxes? Consider, also, the difference between a direct and an indirect tax. Why had the colonies submitted to indirect taxation?

4. What was the object of the British Government in levying the stamp tax? From the English standpoint give reasons why it was just that such a tax should be levied upon the Americans.

5. What colonies did the Sugar Act of 1733 affect most seriously? What colonies did the Stamp Act affect? How, then, did the English Government make a great mistake in passing the Stamp Act?

6. What did James Otis mean by saying that "taxation without representation is tyranny"? In what way did Otis and those agreeing with him think that direct taxes should be levied in America? Was Otis right in his views of taxation? Give reasons for your answer.

7. Why were William Pitt and his followers in England opposed to the Stamp Act? Do you see clearly what was meant by taxation without representation in England? What did Lord Mansfield mean by saying the colonists were as much represented in Parliament as the greatest part of the people in England were represented? What was the American view of representation?

8. Subject for discussion: Attitude of the American Tories toward the relations between England and her colonies in America.

9. What were King George's ideas of government for both England and America? If a man like William Pitt had been King of England, do you think there would have been an American Revolution at that time? Give reasons for your answer.

10. Why did the colonists object to the new taxes of 1767? Why were committees of correspondence organized and with what result? Find out all you can about the influence of Samuel Adams in these trying times. What do you admire in him?

11. Consider the events that led to the "Boston Tea Party." You can easily

trace the connection between the destruction of the tea and the Continental Congress.

12. Make a list of the causes of the American Revolution in the order of their importance to you and be prepared to support your statements with reasons.

13. The period from 1763 to 1775, in which most of these events took place, is the third epoch of colonial growth we have considered. Review the importance of each period.

14. In studying the Revolution read Fiske's "War of Independence"; also the two eloquent speeches of Patrick Henry.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*, chap. X; Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, chap. XIX; Trevelyan, *The American Revolution;* Fiske, *War of Independence*, 38–83; Henry, *Patrick Henry;* Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 161–179; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 146-174; Eggleston, *Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 107-182; Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, 116-177; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 1-24; Channing, *A History of the United States*, III, 29–150; Tyler, *Patrick Henry*.

B. The War Begins at Lexington and Concord (April 19, 1775)

Provincial Congress organizes "minutemen."

General Gage, as military governor of Massachusetts, continued to remain in Boston with 3,000 British troops. He dissolved the colonial assembly, but the people outside of Boston, refusing to recognize his authority, organized the Provincial Congress as a provisional government and went on managing their own affairs. They organized militia and ordered a certain part of the militiamen to be ready at a minute's notice to march to any point of danger. These were called "minutemen."

The "embattled farmers" resist the British at Lexington and Concord and drive them back to Boston.

In April General Gage received orders from England to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who had been most prominently active in resisting the king's authority, and to send them to England to be tried for treason. About the same time the governor heard that the minutemen had collected some military stores at Concord,

twenty miles from Boston. He knew also that Hancock and Adams were staying with a friend in Lexington, which was on the road to Concord.

He planned, therefore, to send out troops for the purpose of destroying the military stores at Concord and arresting the two offenders on the way. About midnight 800 British soldiers started from Boston. But the minutemen were on the watch, and Doctor Joseph Warren,[1] one of their leaders, despatched Paul Revere and William Dawes[2] to warn his two friends and to spread the alarm "The regulars are coming!"

PAUL REVERE ON THE WAY TO LEXINGTON.

From a drawing by F. C. Yohn.

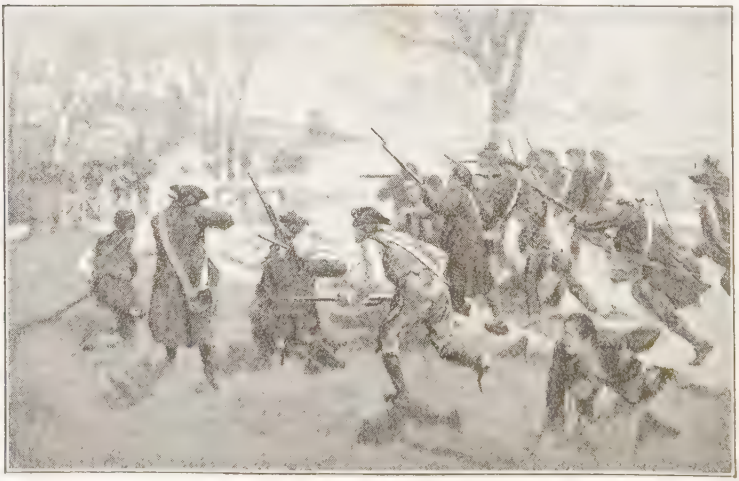
Early next morning (April 19, 1775), when the English troops reached Lexington, Hancock and Adams had made their escape, and a party of minutemen were drawn up on Lexington Common. They refused to disperse, and the British fired upon them, killing eight of their number. Then the minutemen withdrew. Passing on to Con-

[1] Doctor Joseph Warren was a prominent patriot leader and a warm friend of Samuel Adams. Referring to the British soldiers, he said: "Those fellows say we won't fight. By heavens, I hope I shall die up to my knees in blood." He was killed at Bunker Hill, where, having meanwhile become a major-general, he fought as a volunteer.

[2] William Dawes rode on horseback by way of Roxbury. Paul Revere went over from Boston to Charlestown in a boat, and there waited a signal which was given by a lantern hung in the belfry of the Old North Church. At eleven o'clock on that beautiful moonlight night he mounted his horse. Speeding his way through Medford he barely escaped capture by some British officers. From Lexington, where his warning saved Hancock and Adams from capture, he pressed on toward Concord, in company with Doctor Samuel Prescott and William Dawes. Between Lexington and Concord some British officers captured Dawes and Revere, took them back to Lexington, and there released them.

cord, the British destroyed the small part of the military stores which there had not been time to conceal, but they had to face an ever-increasing number of angry minutemen, who poured in from surrounding towns. A battle was fought at the old Concord Bridge and the British were forced to retreat. The minutemen pursued, shooting from behind rocks and trees, fences and barns, while the hard-pressed British soldiers rushed on, loading and firing as they marched, and leaving their dead and dying scattered along the road. Before they reached Boston the retreat had become a rout and the British forces barely escaped capture. It was a great day for the Patriots, and their victory inspired them with fresh courage and determination for other battle-fields. In a few days the British were surrounded in Boston by an army of 16,000 Americans.

JOHN HANCOCK.



THE MINUTEMEN AT CONCORD BRIDGE.

From a drawing by F. C. Yohn.

The colonists unite for resistance in the second Continental Congress and choose George Washington commander-in-chief (1775).

On May 10, 1775, the Continental Congress met by appointment a second time in Philadelphia. John Hancock, of Massachusetts, was chosen president. Congress formally voted to unite in resisting England, and for that purpose to raise an army of 20,000 men, whose expenses were to be paid by the united colonies. George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. At the same time, while preparing for war, if war must come, Congress addressed a petition to the king, setting forth their grievances and asking for redress.

JOHN HANCOCK AND SAMUEL ADAMS WERE ASLEEP IN THIS HOUSE IN LEXINGTON WHEN PAUL REVERE ARRIVED.

In accepting his commission Washington thanked Congress for the honor, adding modestly: "I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with." He was unwilling to accept any salary for his services, but said he would keep an account of his expenses.

Americans obtain needed military supplies at Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

While these war measures were being passed, New England was actually engaged in pushing the war. Colonial troops were already besieging Boston, and on the day Congress met, Ethan Allen, of Vermont, and Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, with a small force surprised and captured Fort Ticonderoga. Two days later the fort at Crown Point was taken. With the forts were secured over 200 cannon and other military supplies; but of greater importance than the supplies

was the control which the forts gave of the line of communication between New York and Canada.[1] There was no longer doubt that the colonies meant to fight and that the war had begun.

The Patriots are greatly encouraged by results of the battle of Bunker Hill.

By the last of May the British troops had been increased to 10,000, and General Sir William Howe had been sent over to take the place of General Gage as military commander. The British general noted the military advantage offered by the heights in Charlestown known as Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill, both of which overlooked Boston, and planned to occupy them. But he was not quick enough. About the middle of the night preceding June 17, 1,500 Patriots began throwing up breastworks on Breed's Hill, which was nearer Boston than Bunker Hill.

Next day General Howe, at the head of about 2,500 men, tried to drive the Americans out of their intrenchments. Twice the British troops marched up the hill and were driven back; but in the face of a third attack the Patriots were obliged to retire, because their ammunition had given out. The engagement, however, had the effect of a victory upon them, for their brave fighting inspired the people with courage and hope. When Washington heard that the raw colonial troops

[1] The Americans vainly hoped Canada would join them in their struggle. In November, 1775, they captured St. John's and Montreal. On December 30 Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold united their forces and made a daring attempt to scale the rocky heights and capture Quebec, but were driven back. Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded.

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, IN WHICH THE BRITISH LOST HEAVILY.

f nent, with a company of grenadiers in the foreground. The left wing of the
and is fi st marching past to take its position for firing. The ship-of-war firing from
ldle distance is the *I* e smoke from the battery on Copp's Hill. The black smoke to the right is
from the bu g h ses of Charlestown.

ting by Howard Pyle.

had stood fire, he said: "The liberties of the country are safe"; and Franklin remarked: "The Americans will fight, England has lost her colonies forever."

Washington drives the British out of Boston (1776).

About two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill, Washington arrived at Cambridge and formally took command of the American army (July 3), under the famous elm still standing near Harvard University. His army was in no condition for fighting. The men were in every way without proper equipment. Only a limited number had muskets, and very few had bayonets. Besides, there was a great scarcity of cannon and powder. Of course, under such conditions, Washington could not attack the enemy. But with patience and faith he organized the army, awaiting the hour when he could strike a telling blow.

Early in March, 1776, having received cannon[1] and ammunition, he seized Dorchester Heights, to the south of Boston, and threw up intrenchments there. Howe, recognizing that it would be difficult to drive Washington from his position, withdrew from Boston and sailed for Halifax with his army and nearly 1,000 civilian Tories.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Do not study the battles or campaigns for details alone, but look for the influences which each campaign contributes toward the building of a new nation.
2. What were the results of sending English troops to Lexington and Concord?
3. Write an account of Paul Revere's famous ride, keeping in mind the purpose and the results of it.
4. Imagine yourself to have been in Concord on the day of the battle, and write a letter to some friend telling what you saw, and the meaning of it all, as you interpret it.
5. Discuss the difficulties Washington had to face after taking command of the American army. Remember he had only raw militia enlisting for short service.
6. Do not fail to read Holmes's "Grandmother's Story of the Battle of Bunker Hill."

[1] These cannon, numbering fifty, came from Ticonderoga, which had been captured the previous year, and, with other supplies, most of them were brought down in sledges drawn by oxen.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Boys of '76*, 17–60; Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, 179–202; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 25–49; Channing, *A History of the United States*, III, 155–179; Fiske, *The American Revolution*; Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*; Wilson, *George Washington*.

FICTION AND POETRY: Holmes, *Grandmother's Story of the Battle of Bunker Hill*; Cooper, *Lionel Lincoln*; Henty, *True to the Old Flag*; Emerson, *Concord Fight*.

C. *The Struggle for the Hudson River and the Middle States in 1776*

The Declaration of Independence, a remarkable historical document, is adopted July 4, 1776.

When the first gun of the Revolution was fired, Samuel Adams stood almost alone in his desire for the political separation of America from England. Within the period of a year, however, the desire for independence had grown rapidly. These were some of the reasons: the king had refused to hear the petition sent to him by the Continental Congress; he had called the colonists rebels; he had sent his ships of war to burn their towns; and, worst of all, he had hired Hessian[1] soldiers to make war upon them. The fact that war already existed also weakened the bond of union with England, and many began to look with favor upon the idea of independence.

Virginia took a leading part in the movement by instructing her delegates in Congress to vote for independence, and her action had its due influence upon the other colonies. Besides, the Stamp Act, the Boston Port Bill, and the other unpopular measures of the king and Parliament had drawn the colonies closer together. They were beginning not only to realize the value of union, but to have a feeling of self-confidence leading to a desire for independence. This found formal expression when, on June 7, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, introduced in Congress a resolution "that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." This resolution

[1] These were called Hessians because most of them came from Hesse-Cassel in Germany. Thirty thousand Hessians were hired during the war. The British Government was driven to hire Hessian troops because at this time the war was so unpopular in England that it was not easy to secure English volunteers to fight in America.

was seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts. Thus did the leading colonies, Massachusetts and Virginia, unite in this important step toward establishing the nation which was to be called the United States.[1]

INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

Before July all the colonies except New York had declared themselves in favor of independence. In the meantime the committee[2] which had been appointed to prepare the Declaration of Independence made its report. This famous paper, written by Thomas Jefferson, was formally adopted in Independence Hall,[3] Philadelphia, July 4, 1776. Realizing how serious the occasion was, John Hancock said: "We must be unanimous; we must hang together." "Yes," said Franklin, with his ready wit, "we must all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

LIBERTY BELL.

After the adoption, the old Liberty Bell, that hung in the belfry of the building where Congress met, pealed forth the glad tidings; and the great event was celebrated throughout the country by huge bonfires, the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and torchlight processions.

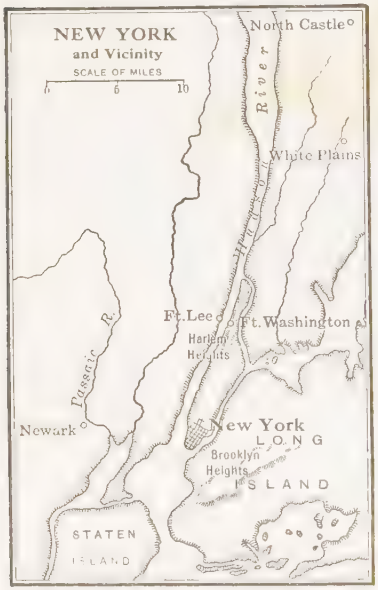
[1] The colonies, with the approval of Congress, began to form state governments in 1775. The change from a colonial to a state form of government was slight. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, where the people had been governing themselves by electing their own representatives, the only change necessary was to withdraw allegiance to the king.

[2] The committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

[3] This building is still standing on Chestnut Street.

The Tories complicate the American cause.

Before July 4, 1776, the American Patriots had been struggling for the rights of free-born Englishmen; after that date they fought for national independence. Yet, as before indicated, not all the Americans were united in their desire for separation from the British Empire. Even in the Continental Congress there were lively and vigorous debates over the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. It has been estimated that at the time when the Continental Congress held its first meeting (1774), probably from 40 to 50 per cent of the colonists were Loyalists, or Tories. Indeed, in Pennsylvania and in New York, as well as in South Carolina and Georgia, the Tories numbered, according to some authorities, more than half the people. There is little doubt that during the war as many as 25,000 American Tories took up arms on the side of King George and the British Government.

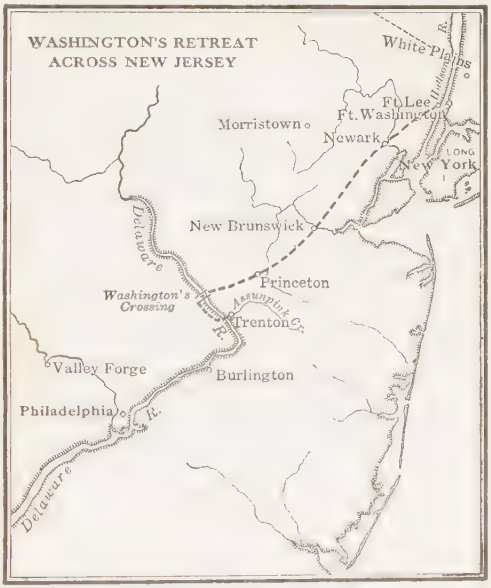


After the signing of the Declaration of Independence the situation changed in America. The thirteen colonies had now become thirteen states, and had united to form an independent country of their own. Therefore, the men in America who insisted upon remaining loyal to the British king were now looked upon and denounced as enemies and traitors. In fact, the Declaration of Independence had precipitated a war whose character was twofold, for it was not only a war between the Americans and the British, but also a civil war between the American Patriots and American Tories.[1]

[1] The Tories ably supported England in their writing and speaking, but did not unite for effective work as did the Sons of Liberty and the committees of correspondence.

Washington tries to prevent the British from gaining control of the lower Hudson and is defeated.

Washington thought that the British after leaving Boston would try to take New York, with the purpose of getting control of the Hudson River, thus cutting off New England from the other states. He therefore went to New York with his army, consisting of only 18,000 men, most of them untrained, and all poorly supplied with arms and food.



General Howe arrived from Halifax early in August with an army of 30,000 men and a large fleet. Late in the month he attacked that part of Washington's army which was occupying Brooklyn Heights and, having vastly larger numbers, defeated them. If he had pressed his victory he might have captured all the American army that was on Long Island and even Washington himself, who, during the last part of the battle, had crossed over from New York. But he was too slow. Two days later Washington, perceiving that the British fleet was moving to cut him off from New York, collected all the boats he could find, and, with the aid of a heavy fog, escaped during the night with his whole force.[1]

[1] It is surprising that Washington could in a single night succeed in getting an army of 10,000 men across a river at this point nearly a mile wide without being discovered. It was an astonishing achievement, which none but an able general could have accomplished. Here, as at Dorchester Heights, the British commander was outgeneralled.

Washington is forced to retreat across New Jersey.

Realizing that he could not hold New York, Washington withdrew his army.[1] After some minor engagements north of the city, he crossed over to New Jersey with a part of his troops. Two or three weeks later the British captured Forts Washington and Lee, near the mouth of the

WASHINGTON'S ARMY IN RETREAT THROUGH NEW JERSEY.
After a painting by Howard Pyle.

Hudson, and 3,600 men. This was a heavy loss to the American cause, especially at this time, when everything seemed to be going against it.

[1] During the interval of about two weeks between the retreat from Long Island and the evacuation of New York, the sad episode of Nathan Hale's capture and execution occurred. Captain Nathan Hale, who was only twenty-one years of age, was quite willing to risk his life by going as a spy into Howe's camp on Long Island. Hale succeeded in getting much valuable information about the enemy's fortifications, and was on his way back to the American army when he was captured and taken before General Howe. The latter promptly ordered him to be hanged on the next (Sunday) morning. During the night Hale asked for a clergyman and a Bible. Both were denied him. He wrote to his mother and to his betrothed, but the letters were torn to pieces before his eyes by the brutal jailer. The last words of the martyr-spy were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

THE JUMEL MANSION.
Washington's headquarters in New York, 1776.

Even worse misfortunes were to follow. In order to prevent the British from taking Philadelphia, Washington put his troops between that city and New York. General Howe pressed him closely. To save his army from capture, Washington was again forced to retreat, breaking down bridges and destroying supplies. Often his rear-guard was just leaving a burning bridge when the British could be seen approaching. But his retreat through New Jersey was so effective in delaying the British that it took them nineteen days to advance a little over sixty miles. Having previously sent on men to collect boats along the Delaware River, for nearly one hundred miles, Washington got his little army across just in time to escape the British, who arrived on the evening of the same day.

Victories at Trenton and Princeton inspire the Patriots with new hope.

These were indeed "dark and dismal" days. In the retreat across New Jersey there was great suffering. Many of the soldiers were without shoes, and could be tracked by their crimson footsteps upon the snow. Moreover, Washington saw his army dwindling constantly, because the men whose term of enlistment had expired were leaving daily for their homes. When he crossed the Delaware River he had only about 3,000 soldiers. Even the friends of the Patriot cause, both in England and America, believed the Americans hopelessly beaten. Doubt and gloom were widespread. But Washington was not without hope. He still had faith in the cause and in his power to win if only the army would hold out.

His one hope of success was by a surprise attack. He therefore planned to strike his overconfident enemy a heavy blow

by marching against a body of Hessians stationed at Trenton. The attack was made on Christmas night with 2,400 picked men. Early in the evening they began to cross the river, where great blocks of ice floating down the swift current made the adventure a perilous one.

Massachusetts fishermen skilfully directed the boats, but it was four in the morning before the soldiers were all landed, ready to take up their line of march. In a furious storm of snow and sleet which beat in their faces they plodded on toward Trenton, nine miles away, where they arrived at daybreak. They captured more than 1,000 men, almost the whole force. Thus by one bold stroke Washington had changed defeat to victory, and inspired the patriot Americans with new hope.

THE HESSIANS SURPRISED AT TRENTON.
From a drawing by Walter Appleton Clark.

The British generals were amazed. Leaving a rear-guard at Princeton to protect his supplies, General Charles Cornwallis speedily advanced with a superior force against Washington. At nightfall, January 2, 1777, only a small creek separated the two armies, just south of Trenton. "At last," said Cornwallis, "we have run down the old fox, and we will bag him in the morning." But Washington outgeneralled him. During the night he not only escaped but marched around Cornwallis, defeating his rear-guard at Princeton, and capturing 500 prisoners.

Robert Morris gives money liberally to keep the army together.

Nevertheless after these striking successes Washington was in sore straits with his army. Many of the soldiers' terms of service would soon expire, and these men were eager to get to their homes. Washington

knew that hard cash would hold them for a few weeks. He wrote in haste, therefore, to his friend Robert Morris, a rich merchant and banker of Philadelphia, for $50,000. Morris promptly responded. Before light on New Year's morning he went knocking from door to door to secure the money from among his friends. By noon the sum was made up and on its way to Washington.

The army was saved, and Washington was able to bring to an end a brilliantly executed campaign. Again, during Greene's campaign in the Carolinas (1780), and during Washington's about Yorktown (1781), Morris came to the rescue of the army. His ample fortune was a silent power which none the less truly than the military genius of Washington made American independence possible.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Review the New England Confederacy, Franklin's plan of union, the Stamp Act Congress, and the Continental Congress, each of which may be thought of as a step toward sympathetic union of all the colonies. How do you account for the rapid growth of a desire on the part of the colonists for independence?
2. Explain the leading part taken by Massachusetts and Virginia in securing the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Review Berkeley in Virginia and Andros in Massachusetts. Consider in connection with the Declaration of Independence this statement: "Few Englishmen could imagine an empire of free states; few Americans could understand a nation bound against its will."
3. Make the text of the Declaration of Independence a special study. What effect would it have on the people of that time? What part of it discusses rights? What part grievances? It would be well to memorize the first two paragraphs, for they state the principles and ideals to which America has ever since adhered. Read each charge critically. Was every charge a fair one?
4. Give a good reason for calling the American Revolution a civil war.
5. Why did the British shift their campaign from Massachusetts to the Hudson River and the Middle States? Can you explain why the Tories were more numerous in that part of the country than in New England?
6. Study your map. Note the position of Philadelphia. Of New York. Was the British plan a good one? Why?

7. Write a story about the patriotic services of Robert Morris.

8. Read the account of the battle of Trenton in Coffin's "Boys of '76" for this fine example of American ingenuity and initiative.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Boys of '76*, 129–151; Fiske, *The American Revolution*, I, 180–197, 224–234; Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, 238–261; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 50–87; Channing, *History of the United States*, III, 182–236; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 186–192; Lodge, *The Story of the American Revolution*, I, 202–228; Lossing, *The Two Spies;* Trevelyan, *The American Revolution.*

D. The Struggle for the Hudson River and the Middle States in 1777

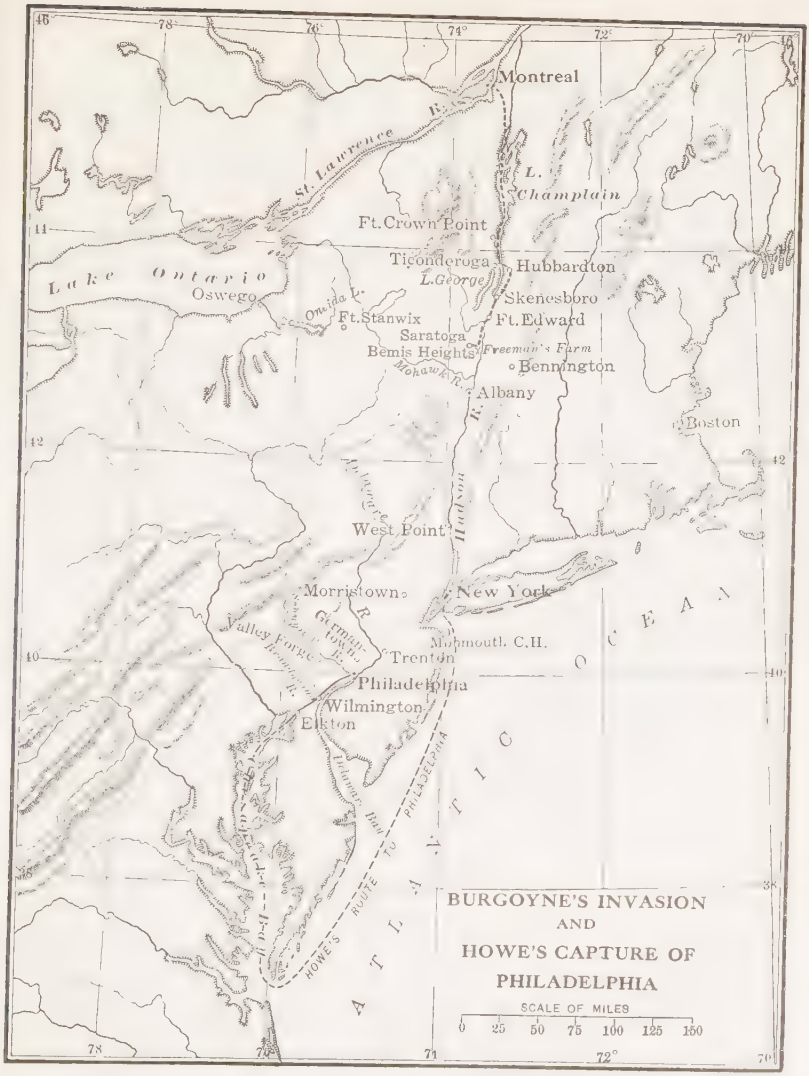
How the British plan to separate the colonies.

By the capture of New York the British held the lower part of the Hudson. They expected in 1777, as they did in 1776, to get entire control of this river. The plan was threefold: (1) General John Burgoyne was to come down from Canada by way of Lake Champlain[1]; (2) Colonel St. Leger was to sail up the St. Lawrence into Lake Ontario, to land at Oswego, and come down the Mohawk Valley, (3) and Howe, with the main army, was to go up the Hudson from Albany.

Burgoyne, with an army of 10,000 men, including Canadians and Indians, soon captured Crown Point and Ticonderoga and was confident of complete victory, but in crossing the carrying-place between Lake Champlain and the Hudson he encountered unexpected difficulties. The country was swampy and heavily wooded. General Philip Schuyler, in command of the American army, had further obstructed the way by felling trees across the roads and by destroying over forty bridges. These obstructions so greatly delayed Burgoyne that he advanced only about a mile a day.

Arriving at Fort Edward, he encamped there and received

[1] In 1776 Sir Guy Carleton had led a similar expedition. With 12,000 troops he started from Canada to secure control of the water route of the mouth of the Hudson. Although stubbornly opposed by Arnold on Lake Champlain, he captured Crown Point, but finding Ticonderoga strongly fortified, he withdrew without attacking that fort.



news that at Bennington the Americans had collected horses, food-supplies, and ammunition. Much in need of horses to draw his cannon and of food for his troops, he sent about 1,000

Hessians to Bennington to capture the American supplies. Nearly all of the force were killed or captured by a body of militia under Colonel John Stark. The British army was badly crippled by this disaster.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Fortune seemed to go against the British. St. Leger, it was hoped, would gather about his standard many of the Iroquois and Tories in western and central New York and come to Burgoyne's aid. But St. Leger, after making some advance, had to retreat, largely because about 800 Tories and Indians were defeated in the battle of Oriskany. Burgoyne's only hope, therefore, was aid from Howe, who was pursuing another plan.

Howe captures Philadelphia, but Washington prevents him from sending aid to Burgoyne.

Failing to receive orders which the British War Office had made out for him to go up the Hudson River and join Burgoyne, Howe unwisely decided to march across New Jersey and capture Philadelphia, which he called the "rebel capital." As Washington's able handling of the Patriot army made the carrying out of this plan most difficult, Howe returned to New York and sailed southward in order to reach Philadelphia by way of the Chesapeake. He had no sooner landed than he found his watchful foe ready to dispute his advance. In the battle of the Brandywine,[1] which soon followed, the British, greatly outnumbering the Americans, defeated them. However,

[1] Marquis de La Fayette, a French nobleman, fought his first battle here. When he heard that the Americans had declared their independence of England, he was eager to cross the Atlantic and aid them. He was not yet twenty years of age and had just married a beautiful young woman of rank and fortune. But he was willing to leave behind him wife, family, and friends to fight in a noble cause. Accordingly, he sailed in his own vessel for this country and reached the coast of South Carolina in April, 1777. Congress made him a major-general in the Continental army, where he rendered excellent service. He freely spent his own money for clothing and equipping the soldiers under his command. From their first meeting a warm friendship existed between La Fayette and Washington.

Washington withdrew in good order and handled his troops with such skill as to keep Howe two weeks in marching to Philadelphia, only twenty-six miles from the battle-field. It was on September 26 that the British general marched into the city, and altogether too late to send troops to co-operate with the unfortunate Burgoyne three hundred miles away. In delaying Howe, Washington had made Burgoyne's capture certain.

Burgoyne's surrender results in a treaty of alliance with France.

While Howe was on his way to Philadelphia, Burgoyne was passing through a trying experience in the north, for the Americans, now commanded by Gates,[1] were increasing in numbers daily, and were seriously threatening his supplies from Canada. The situation at length became desperate. After stubbornly fighting two battles at Saratoga he tried to find a way of escape, but could not. Being completely surrounded and cut off from his supplies, he was obliged to surrender his entire army of 6,000 regular troops.[2]

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

The surrender of Burgoyne was the turning-point of the war. Its immediate result was a treaty of alliance between France and our country. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence, Con-

[1] Schuyler was a noble man and a good general, but he had political enemies who succeeded in having him removed. Gates was vain and weak, and his subsequent history proved him to be lacking in personal bravery. The success of his army at Saratoga was due to the gallant leadership of Arnold and Morgan. Gates deserved no credit. His easy manner and fluent speech enabled him for a time to influence people who did not understand his real character. In time, however, his moral qualities were fully revealed and men saw clearly how little he contributed to the success of the American cause.

[2] The Americans, when marching the English soldiers off the field of surrender, proudly unfurled their new flag. In January, 1776, Washington began to use an American flag. This was like the British flag, except that the thirteen stripes took the place of the solid red of the British. Congress adopted the "Stars and Stripes" on June 14, 1777. John Paul Jones is believed to have been the first to hoist the flag at sea.

gress had sent over three commissioners[1] to secure aid from France, the principal one being Benjamin Franklin, then seventy years old. His simplicity and directness charmed the French people and won him a warm place in their hearts. The French Government, moreover, was friendly and had secretly sent aid to the Americans in the form of money and ship-loads of clothing and ammunition.

FRANKLIN NEGOTIATING THE FRENCH TREATY.

After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

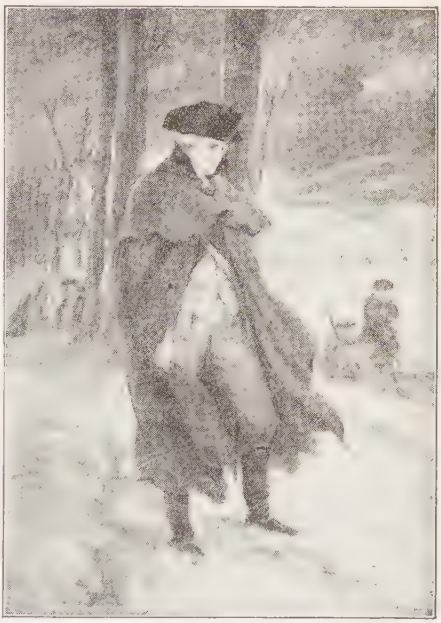
Now that Burgoyne's surrender made it evident that the Americans were fighting successfully, France was ready to give aid openly. She therefore agreed to send over a fleet and an army of 4,000 men. At this crisis England promptly declared war against France. She also changed her policy toward the Americans. She repealed the tea duty, the Boston Port Bill, and all the other hated measures that had driven the colonies to take up arms against the king. She promised that there should be no more taxation without representation. But it was too late. The Americans would now agree to nothing short of the independence they had already so solemnly declared.

A winter of hardship and suffering for the army at Valley Forge.

Meanwhile Washington was passing through a trying experience. After losing Philadelphia he had with great courage made an attack upon the British at Germantown. Although it was well planned, on account of fog

[1] These commissioners were Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane.

he suffered defeat. He then withdrew his army and went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a strong position among the hills, about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia. The winter was a terrible one for the army.[1] Most of the soldiers were in rags, few had any bedding, and many had not even straw to lie on at night. Nearly 3,000 were barefoot, and could be tracked, as before the battle of Trenton, by their bloody footprints on the ground. Owing to mismanagement by Congress and the Commissary Department, they were often, for days at a time, without bread. "For some days past," wrote Washington, "there has been little less than famine in the camp." All Americans should be grateful to those brave men who endured such bitter hardship to win independence for our country.



WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE.
After a painting by F. C. Yohn.

Washington's enemies plot against him.

Petty politics and personal jealousy in Congress did much at this time as at others to prevent the successful handling of the troops by Washington. Weak and vain men,

[1] A beautiful story is told of Washington at Valley Forge. When "Friend Potts" was near the camp one day he heard an earnest voice. On approaching he saw Washington on his knees, his cheeks wet with tears, praying to God for help and guidance. When the farmer returned to his home he said to his wife: "George Washington will succeed! George Washington will succeed! The Americans will secure their independence!" "What makes thee think so, Isaac?" inquired his wife. "I have heard him pray out in the woods to-day, and the Lord will surely hear his prayer. He will, Hannah; thee may rest assured He will."

among them Gates and another prominent American general, Charles Lee, did all they could to destroy the influence of the commander-in-chief and drive him from his position. Gates had succeeded, by his political scheming, in getting Congress to appoint him in place of Schuyler as head of the Northern army in 1777, and now he was busily at work for the downfall of Washington in order that he might himself become the head of all the American armies. As one of the leaders in this shameful plot was Thomas Conway, it was called the Conway Cabal. The taunt was openly made that while Gates had captured Burgoyne at Saratoga, Washington had been defeated by Howe on the Brandywine. But when people understood the meanness of all this plotting, they were indignant. Washington appeared all the more noble in contrast with these selfish men, and his popularity was even greater than before.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Indicate on your map Burgoyne's route, his object, scene of his battles, and of his surrender.
2. How did Washington aid the Northern army to capture Burgoyne?
3. Give reasons for Burgoyne's failure. What did it mean to the British and the Americans for him to fail?
4. After France entered into a treaty of alliance with America, what change did England make in her policy toward them? Do you think the French Government at that time was imbued with the same ideas of liberty as was La Fayette? France was yet a monarchy; could she have had other motives? Consider this carefully. You will need it in your estimation of later events when we are asked to help France in return.
5. Contrast Washington with such men as Lee and Gates, and find as many reasons as you can for Washington's success.
6. Write an essay on our debt to the American army at Valley Forge in that trying winter.
7. Read Scudder's "George Washington," in which you will find a good estimate of Washington's life and work.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Lodge, *The Story of the American Revolution*, I, 263–278; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 192–199; Channing, *History of the United States*, III, 246–273; Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*; Scudder, *George Washington*; Wilson, *George Washington*; Coffin, *Boys of '76*, 180–244; Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, 262–287.

E. Warfare on the Border and on the Sea

Other wars require England's forces (1778–1779).

The two years following Great Britain's declaration of war upon France (1777) saw little fighting[1] in America, for during that period England was engaged in war with Spain and Holland also, and had to protect her colonies in various parts of the world.

The colonies struggle along with crippled industries and worthless currency.

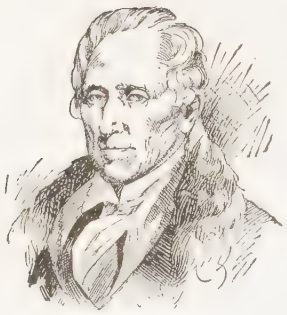
This was fortunate for the United States because the country was very weak in population and wealth, and quite unable to engage in extended military operations. The industrial life, including the occupations of farming, fishing, ship-building, and commerce, had been much interfered with by the war. The Continental Congress had steadily lost influence and commanded but little respect. It was powerless to enlist soldiers or build forts because it could not levy taxes, and the states paid little heed to the requisitions for money made upon them.

Under such circumstances, Congress was obliged to issue paper money in immense quantities. These paper promises to pay were called Continental currency, and, like all such money, they were valuable only so far as people had confidence in the ability of the government to redeem them. As respect for Congress waned, this paper currency fell in value. Before the close of 1779 its coin value was only two cents on a dollar, and in the early part of the following year it had no value at all. "Not worth a Continental" long recalled the money trials of the Revolution.

The British continue the war by aid of the Indians.

During this uncertain period the management of the war was difficult. Although the British troops were engaged largely elsewhere, hostilities were carried

[1] Having learned that a French fleet was coming to aid the Americans, the British feared that it might co-operate with Washington for the capture of Philadelphia. Accordingly, General Clinton, who had succeeded Howe in the chief command, hastily left that city with his army, and began his march across New Jersey toward New York. Washington overtook and attacked him at Monmouth, where, owing to the treachery of Charles Lee, he failed to win a decisive victory (June, 1778).

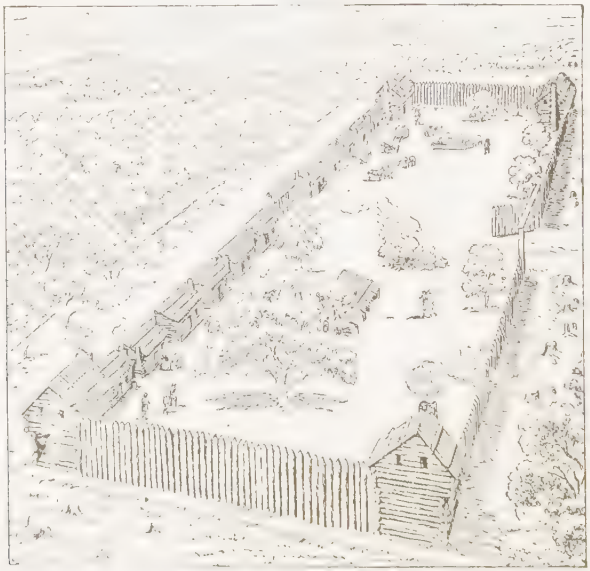


DANIEL BOONE.

on by the British, as far as possible, through Indian warfare on the borders. We have seen how Burgoyne employed the Indians to help him. It was part of the plan of the British to get all the aid they could from the Iroquois in New York and from the Indians west of the Alleghanies. These powerful tribes, furnished with arms, ammunitions, provisions, and sometimes with British leaders, seriously harassed the people on the frontier.

Backwoodsmen settle in Kentucky and Tennessee contrary to the proclamation of the British Government.

The war as fought between the backwoodsmen and the Indians was of greater significance than the mere winning of battles. It was a struggle for possession. After the Last French War the British Government in the interest of English merchants had issued a proclamation to



BOONESBORO.

prevent the colonists from making settlements west of the Alleghanies, for as long as this Western country remained unsettled, the very profitable fur trade with the Indians could be continued.

Brave and hardy pioneers on the outskirts of the older settlements failed to regard the order. They would not be held back. Among the first to cross the mountains were the Scotch-Irish and the Germans of central Pennsylvania. Soon after the close of the Last French War they pushed southwest into the Shenandoah Valley, and beyond into western North Carolina. From there in 1769 Daniel Boone, famous hunter and Indian fighter, led the way with five companions through Cumberland Gap into the blue-grass region of Kentucky. Six years later, at the head of a party of settlers, he founded Boonesboro and Lexington. About the time that Boone first reached Kentucky, a pioneer from Virginia, William Bean, built a log cabin farther south on Watauga Creek in eastern Tennessee. And the next year (1770) James Robertson and other men who dared to face the dangers of the unbroken wilderness settled in the valleys of the Clinch and the Holston Rivers. This group was soon joined by John Sevier (1772), another famous hero among the pioneers of Tennessee.

THE RESCUE OF BOONE.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

These early settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee had a life-and-death struggle with the Indians, who looked upon the white men as invaders of their hunting-grounds. The Southern Indians rose first (1776) and made a fierce but unsuccessful at-

tack upon the Watauga settlement. In the following year Indians from north of the Ohio attacked the Kentucky settlements repeatedly. These raids were all the more dangerous because organized and supported by the British as a part of their plan of campaign. When the war first broke out the territory north of the Ohio, between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies, was under control of Colonel Henry Hamilton, British governor of that region. All along he had encouraged the Indians to roam over the country north and south of the Ohio and burn, murder, and scalp without mercy.

With less than 200 men, Clark wins a vast region for the future nation.

One of the most daring backwoodsmen of the Kentucky region was Colonel George Rogers Clark. Determined to check the plans of Hamilton, he got together about 200 volunteers, and set out in May, 1778, to capture the British posts north of the Ohio. On rude flatboats and rafts they floated down the Ohio to a point south of the Tennessee River. From there they marched rapidly more than a hundred miles through southwestern Illinois, and surprised and captured Kaskaskia. Then Clark sent a force which seized Cahokia. The next move was to capture Vincennes, on the Wabash River. This was the most important post in the Ohio Valley and it was not to be so easily taken. Clark learned that Hamilton was occupying the town, and that he was planning to advance against the small American force in the spring, the season now being too late, as he thought, for military operations. Although it was midwinter, Clark decided to surprise Hamilton in Vincennes, two hundred and forty miles away. The Americans marched for sixteen days, during five of which they waded over the drowned lands of the Wabash River, with the water at times reaching the men's chins. The weather was bitterly cold. During the last six days of the march the drenched and half-frozen men had

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

almost nothing to eat and for two days they were without food. But Clark pressed steadily forward, reached Vincennes, and attacked the fort with such vigor that he forced Hamilton to surrender (February 24, 1779).

The capture of Vincennes finished the conquest of the territory north of the Ohio and opened the vast region to American

CLARK'S MEN ON THE FIVE DAYS' MARCH THROUGH THE DROWNED LANDS OF THE WABASH.
From a drawing by F. C. Yohn.

settlers. The significance of this heroic achievement became evident in the treaty of peace at the close of the Revolution. For while the struggle was for independence in territory already acquired east of the Alleghanies, west of the Alleghanies it resulted in the acquisition of new land for the new nation.

How the American navy begins. At the beginning of the war the Americans were without war-vessels, because they had been under the protection of England. Before the close of 1775, however, Congress ordered a small navy of thirteen vessels to be built. Nearly all of these were captured or were burned to escape capture. As a consequence, this means of transporting troops was sorely crippled. After France had recognized our independence (1778), she made

attempts to aid us with her strong fleets, but owing to the supremacy of the British navy these efforts were of little direct service before the siege of Yorktown. Indirectly they were of great assistance, because they kept England's navy active in protecting her commerce on various parts of the sea, and caused her to withdraw her fighting strength from America.

How American privateering helps to win our independence.

While Great Britain had little to fear from our navy, she suffered much from American privateers. Even as early as 1776 they captured 350 British vessels, some loaded with powder and supplies for the British army. So much damage did they inflict upon the commerce of England that her ship-owners and merchants became bitter opponents of the war. Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, put the number of New England sailors engaged at one time as privateers at 70,000. The estimate was probably too high, but without doubt many more than this number of Americans engaged in privateering during the war.

With John Paul Jones begins a great tradition for the American navy.

The most famous naval hero of the Revolution was John Paul Jones,[1] a Scotchman by birth. At an early age he had come to America, and had been engaged in commerce before the war. Placed by Congress in command of a small ship, he captured many vessels in the English Channel and thoroughly frightened the people along the coasts of England and Scotland. Through the help of Franklin and the French king he was made the commander of a small squadron with the *Bonhomme Richard*,[2] his flag-ship.

[1] Another heroic naval officer was John Barry, who was born in Ireland in 1745 and came to this country when he was fifteen. In 1776 Congress appointed him captain of the *Lexington*, in which he soon captured a British war-vessel, the first to be taken by an American cruiser. In the following year, taking thirty men in four rowboats one night, he quietly rowed with muffled oars down the Delaware River, and soon after sunrise boarded and captured a British vessel carrying ten guns. This splendid exploit aroused much enthusiasm among the Americans. It also prompted General Howe to offer Captain Barry $100,000, and a command in the British navy, if he would leave the American service. With scornful indignation the loyal captain replied: "Not the value and command of the whole British fleet can seduce me from the cause of my country."

[2] This vessel was named after Richard of *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which Benjamin Franklin had written.

Sailing along the eastern coast of England, he met the British war-vessel *Serapis* (September 23, 1779). During the fight the firing on the *Richard* slackened and the British commander shouted: "Have you struck?" "I have not begun to fight!" said Jones. The two vessels touched, Jones lashed them together with his own hands, and for two hours longer kept up the fight, until the British commander struck his colors. Jones had lost in killed and wounded 116 men, and the *Richard* was sinking. It was a great victory, and made the name of John Paul Jones famous in American history.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. What was the difficulty with the Continental Congress as an instrument of government? The Continental notes were promises to pay real money. So are personal notes promises to pay. Some have full face value; others have little value. Why had the Continental currency little or no value? Do you know of any countries to-day that have that kind of money?
2. Do you think the English played fair in the use they made of the Indians?
3. Trace George Rogers Clark's expedition on your map. What was his object? Could he have been aware at that time of the great service he was rendering his country? Calculate approximately the size of the territory he added as compared to the extent of the thirteen original colonies.
4. In what way did France aid the states with her fleets? Who was John Paul Jones and why is he remembered?
5. Read Roosevelt's "Winning of the West" for an interesting account of what the Westerners did during the Revolution.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Lodge, *Story of the Revolution*, 1–28; Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, II, 31–90; Fiske, *The American Revolution*, II, chaps. XI, XII; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 222–233; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 188–203; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 269–288; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, chap. I.

FICTION: Thompson, *Alice, of Old Vincennes;* Churchill, *Richard Carvel*, and *The Crossing*.

F. Partisan Warfare in the South and the Surrender of Cornwallis (1780–1781)

The British fail to conquer the South with aid of the Tories.

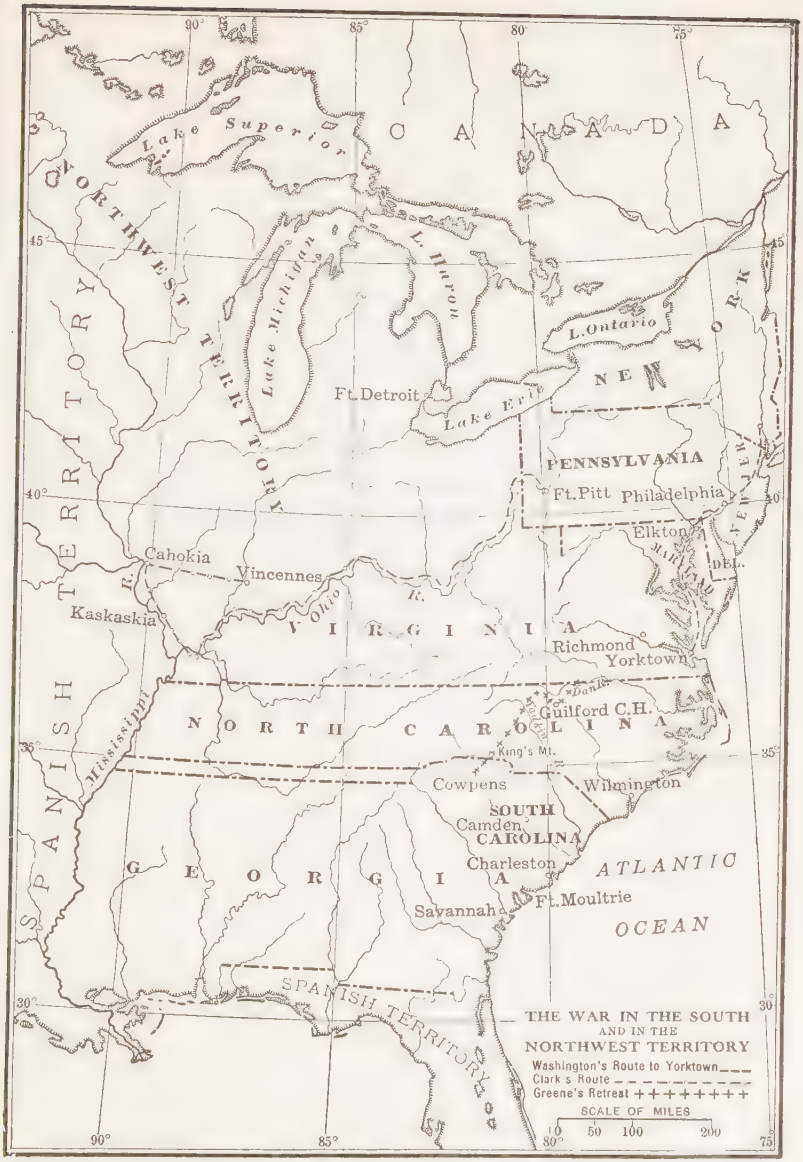
After they had failed in New England and the Middle States, the British planned to conquer Georgia and get control of the Carolinas and Virginia. They knew that the Tories, who were numerous in the Carolinas, would join them. They thought that if they should fail in overthrowing American independence, they might at least hold the South and be able, at the close of the war, to confine the Americans within a smaller territory than that which they then occupied.

Although the British had taken Savannah in 1778, it was not until the spring of 1780, by capturing Charleston, that they began the serious work of conquering the South. Well satisfied with this beginning, the British general, Sir Henry Clinton, returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis in command of the British forces. A few months later Cornwallis badly defeated General Gates, commander of the American troops, at Camden. It was said that Gates rode off the battle-field in such confusion of mind that he did not stop until he was sixty miles away. In disgrace he retired from the army and nothing more was heard of him during the war.

Cornwallis next advanced into North Carolina. At the same time he sent the dashing Major Ferguson, in command of 1,200 men, mostly American Tories, to enlist other Tories in the mountainous region of South Carolina. A body of patriotic and daring American backwoodsmen attacked Ferguson at King's Mountain and killed or captured his entire force, including Ferguson himself (October 7). This brilliant victory severely crippled the British.

Clinton's proclamation causes bitter partisan warfare in the South.

Before Clinton returned to New York after the capture of Charleston, he had sent small forces into the interior of South Carolina, and offered by proclamation to pardon all who would be loyal to England. Those who would not actively aid the British cause were to be treated


Lake Superior
CANADA
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
Lake Michigan
L. Huron
L. Ontario
NEW YORK
Ft. Detroit
Lake Erie
PENNSYLVANIA
Ft. Pitt
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Elkton
MARYLAND
DEL.
Cahokia
Vincennes
R.
Ohio
Kaskaskia
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Yorktown
Bank
Guilford C.H.
NORTH CAROLINA
King's Mt.
Mississippi
SPANISH TERRITORY
Cowpens
Wilmington
SOUTH CAROLINA
Camden
Charleston
ATLANTIC
GEORGIA
Savannah
Ft. Moultrie
OCEAN
SPANISH TERRITORY
90°
85°
80°
75°
45°
40°
35°
30°
THE WAR IN THE SOUTH
AND IN THE
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
Washington's Route to Yorktown
Clark's Route
Greene's Retreat
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200

as rebels and traitors. This proclamation was unwise, for it compelled all citizens to range themselves on one side or the other.

A bitter and cruel partisan warfare resulted. In this semi-civil war neighbor fought against neighbor. The most noted partisan leaders on the American side were Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, and Henry Lee. Marion's men were without uniforms or tents and without pay. They lived in swamps, and were so swift and cunning in their attacks that their leader became known as the "Swamp Fox." With a small force, often less than fifty men, he annoyed the British beyond measure, rescued bodies of prisoners on the march, and captured supply-trains, foraging parties, and outposts. When the American cause seemed most desperate in the South these brave men, with the aid of noble women, kept hope alive in patriot hearts.

Benedict Arnold becomes a traitor.

Nor was the gloom of the war in this period confined to the South. Of all the trials which Washington had suffered during the whole Revolution, none brought him more sorrow and discouragement than the treason of Benedict Arnold. This man had been fearless and daring on more than one battle-field, and had served his country well, but Congress had failed to promote him. The injustice made him indignant. He was heavily in debt. Desperate for money and eager for revenge, he sold himself to the British. Seeking the command of the forces at West Point, the most important position on the Hudson River, he planned to dispose of his men in such a way that this strong fort might easily fall into the British hands at a time agreed upon for attack.

An interview for making final arrangements took place in September (1780), when Major John André was sent by the British up the Hudson to meet Arnold. After this conference, which lasted all night, André set out for New York on horseback, with Arnold's plans of the fort in his possession. As he galloped down the east side of the Hudson he was stopped near Tarrytown and the tell-tale papers were discovered. He was court-martialled and hanged as a spy. The treason of Arnold,

if it had been successful, would have dealt a staggering blow to the young nation.

Arnold was informed of André's capture and escaped. For his treason he was made a brigadier-general in the British army and was given about $30,000, but he was justly despised by his countrymen. Realizing too late the dishonor of his course, he

THE MEETING OF GENERAL GREENE AND GENERAL GATES.
After a painting by Howard Pyle.

kept his old uniform, and before his death put it on once more for the last time. "Let me die," said he, "in this old uniform in which I fought many battles. May God forgive me for ever putting on any other."

Greene outgenerals Cornwallis and forces him to the coast.

The depression caused by Arnold's treason had scarcely lifted when the scene of action shifted to the South. There the struggle was going on between Greene and Cornwallis. General Nathanael Greene had been appointed by Congress to succeed Gates. On reaching the Carolinas (December 2, 1780), Greene found his small army poorly equipped, without pay and clothing, and lacking even

food. The men were broken in spirit and discouraged, but the new commander inspired confidence, and soon officers and soldiers were working cheerfully together.

Greene promptly sent General Morgan against Colonel Tarleton, an able British officer. They met at Cowpens (January 17, 1781), where Morgan, with only 900 men, routed the British force of 1,100 picked men. This brilliant victory destroyed nearly one-third of Cornwallis's army and seriously interfered with his plans.

GENL. NATHANAEL GREENE.

After the victory, Morgan joined Greene, but in face of superior numbers the combined armies were forced to retreat northward across the Carolinas and into Virginia. On receiving reinforcements, Greene turned about and fought the enemy at Guilford Court House, North Carolina (March 15, 1781). He was defeated, but withdrew his forces in good order. Cornwallis's army was so severely crippled that he decided to go to Wilmington, North Carolina, where communication with the English fleet would be easy. Although he had won no battles, Greene's campaign had been very successful. He had not only worn out the enemy and forced him to seek the coast for supplies, but he had also outgeneralled Cornwallis, the ablest English commander, and shown himself second only to Washington in military genius.

Cornwallis, entrapped at Yorktown, surrenders (October 19, 1781).

Cornwallis, disappointed in the South, marched northward to get control of Virginia, the great storehouse, as he believed, of the Southern armies. He chose Yorktown as a base of operations, having in mind again easy contact with the British fleet.

Up to this time the French army had not been of any real service to the American cause, nor had the French fleet given much direct aid. Now, however, both their land and sea forces

were to unite with Washington in carrying out a bold plan. Already, before Cornwallis went to Yorktown, 6,000 fresh troops from France, under Count Rochambeau, had joined Washington's army, then lying on the Hudson. When Washington learned that a powerful French fleet was on its way to the

THE EVACUATION OF CHARLESTON BY THE BRITISH AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR, 1782.

After a painting by Howard Pyle.

Chesapeake, he began the execution of a brilliant movement. Leaving a small force on the Hudson, he secretly marched the rest of his army four hundred miles into Virginia to join La Fayette, who commanded an American army there, and also to co-operate with the French fleet under Rochambeau in capturing Cornwallis.

Clinton had sent a force to engage the French fleet, but it failed in its attack, and Washington so quickly effected his union with La Fayette that Cornwallis was surrounded before Clinton could come to his assistance. With an army of only 8,000 against 16,000, aided by many war-ships, a successful resistance was hopeless. Therefore, after a siege of about three weeks, Cornwallis surrendered his army on October 19, 1781.

Our peace commissioners secure a vast territory for the young nation (1783).

The defeat of Cornwallis practically ended the war. The Americans everywhere rejoiced, and Congress, in session at Philadelphia, adjourned to attend church in a body and offer thanksgiving for the great victory.

Commissioners from the two countries were appointed to agree upon a treaty of peace. By its terms England recognized the independence of the United States; and the work of George Rogers Clark and other Westerners, who had conquered and settled the vast regions north and south of the Ohio River, enabled our commissioners to secure for America all the territory lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi and between the Great Lakes and Florida. Florida was ceded by England back to Spain.

Thus ended King George's plan of personal government in America. It had completely failed. The Revolution not only assured the independence of the colonies; it overthrew also the personal rule of George III in England. In 1784 young William Pitt, son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, became the real head of the English Government, and thereafter parliamentary reform was only a matter of time.

How the women aided in winning independence.

In winning the Revolution American women played a large part. They united with the men in resisting unjust British taxes, organized societies that agreed to use no tea or other goods imported from England, and promised to wear only cloth that was spun and woven in their own homes. After the outbreak of the war they urged husbands and sons to join in the fight for liberty and independence, and they took the places of men in the fields, hoeing potatoes, making hay, harvesting corn, and performing the heavy labor necessary to raise food for the household. They made clothing for the soldiers and carried supplies to the Patriots suffering in hospitals. They put their pewter dishes and cooking utensils into the melting-pot to be made into bullets, and they cheerfully gave up their jewels to be sold and their gold and silver plate to be made into coin. Some did more than give their prop-

erty; they even joined the ranks and fought like men on the field of battle.

How the Tories were treated. The Revolution, as already noted, was in a large measure a civil war, a struggle between Tories, who wished to remain a part of the British Empire, and Patriots, who wished to separate from Great Britain and have a nation of their own. After the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the Tories, who joined the British armies and aided the British cause in other ways, were bitterly hated by the Patriots. Some were tarred and feathered; others were thrown into jail; while hundreds were driven from burning homes by angry mobs, and were obliged to save themselves by hiding in woods or swamps until they could make their escape to some British camp or stronghold. Hundreds who were driven into exile during the war fled to England, the West Indies, or Canada. In fact, so harshly were the Tories treated that the number who left their native land during and after the war exceeded 100,000.

Difficulties nobly overcome cause Washington to be looked upon as the "Father of his Country." Of greater danger to the cause than the Tories was Washington's severe trial, throughout the war, in keeping together an army large enough to fight the necessary battles. His soldiers consisted chiefly of militiamen who were furnished by the various states, and who enlisted for short terms of service. These short-term soldiers were continually leaving after they had served three or four months and returning to their homes. To take their places new men were as constantly coming into camp, so that Washington was without a permanent well-organized and well-trained army. At times it seemed doubtful whether at the end of the month he would have as many as 500 soldiers. In spite of disappointment and discouragement, however, his confidence never failed him. Those who stood by the cause, although poorly clothed and fed, ill equipped and ill paid, were, as La Fayette declared, the most patient and patriotic soldiers the world had ever seen. There can be no doubt that Washington's love for his officers and his men and their loyalty to him did more than anything

else to bring about the final defeat of the British. With good reason, then, we may call him the "Father of his Country."

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Discuss the character of partisan warfare in the South. Look up facts about the Swamp Fox and his men, and estimate the services of Marion, Sumter, and Lee to the American cause.
2. How was Arnold's treasonable scheme to be carried out? What part did André take in this scheme? Discuss Arnold's disgrace.
3. What were the difficulties of Greene when he succeeded Gates in the South?
4. What was the condition of the English army after the battle of Guilford Court House? What had been Greene's main purpose and how had he carried it out?
5. Why did Cornwallis go to Yorktown? What direct aid did the Americans now receive from the French fleet? Why was Washington's plan a brilliant one? Do you think the Americans could have succeeded without the aid of the French? What were the results of Cornwallis's surrender?
6. Prepare a list of Revolutionary Patriots conspicuous for their services. Indicate the service and how it helped to win the cause in each case.
7. Discuss fully the terms of the treaty. What did the American states gain in a political way? In a territorial way? What did the results of the war mean as to the future of the United States on the North American continent? What did they mean to Great Britain?
8. Several leading Englishmen have claimed that the American Revolution was a distinct victory for English, as well as for American, liberty. In what sense is this true?
9. Read Simms's "Partisan," and the chapter on Arnold's treason in Coffin's "Boys of '76." Memorize Bryant's "Song of Marion's Men."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Boys of '76*, 303–333; Lodge, *Story of the Revolution*, II, 43–82; Fiske, *The American Revolution*, II, 206–243; Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*, 298–334; Simms, *Life of Francis Marion*; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 206–215; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 189–220; Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, 325–347; *Channing*, III, 315–342.

FICTION AND POETRY: Bryant, *Song of Marion's Men*; Simms, *The Partisan*.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMERCIAL DIFFICULTIES UNDER THE CONFEDERATION HASTEN THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

(1781–1789)

The Continental Congress during the Revolution is opposed by suspicious state governments.

The Continental Congress, which was called together to guide the colonies in establishing their independence, assumed many of the duties of a central government. But because it had no power to compel obedience, it labored with great difficulties. Early in the Revolution the people had formed state governments and were jealous of any authority which interfered with their local powers. This feeling found expression when a plan of government was at last outlined by a committee appointed by Congress in June, 1776.

Under the Confederation the states are supreme. Congress can merely advise and recommend.

The plan of the committee, known as the Articles of Confederation, did not go into effect until 1781 (see page 177), and it conferred but little power. By its provisions Congress could declare war, but could not raise or support an army. It could find out the amount of revenue needed for the expenses of the government, but it could not raise a dollar by taxation. As it could not levy any duties on imported goods, it could not regulate commerce. This was under the control of the states. Congress could, therefore, do nothing but request the money needed by the central government, and the states could refuse and usually did refuse to notice such requests. In fact, the main business of Congress was to recommend and advise.

England takes advantage of our weakness.

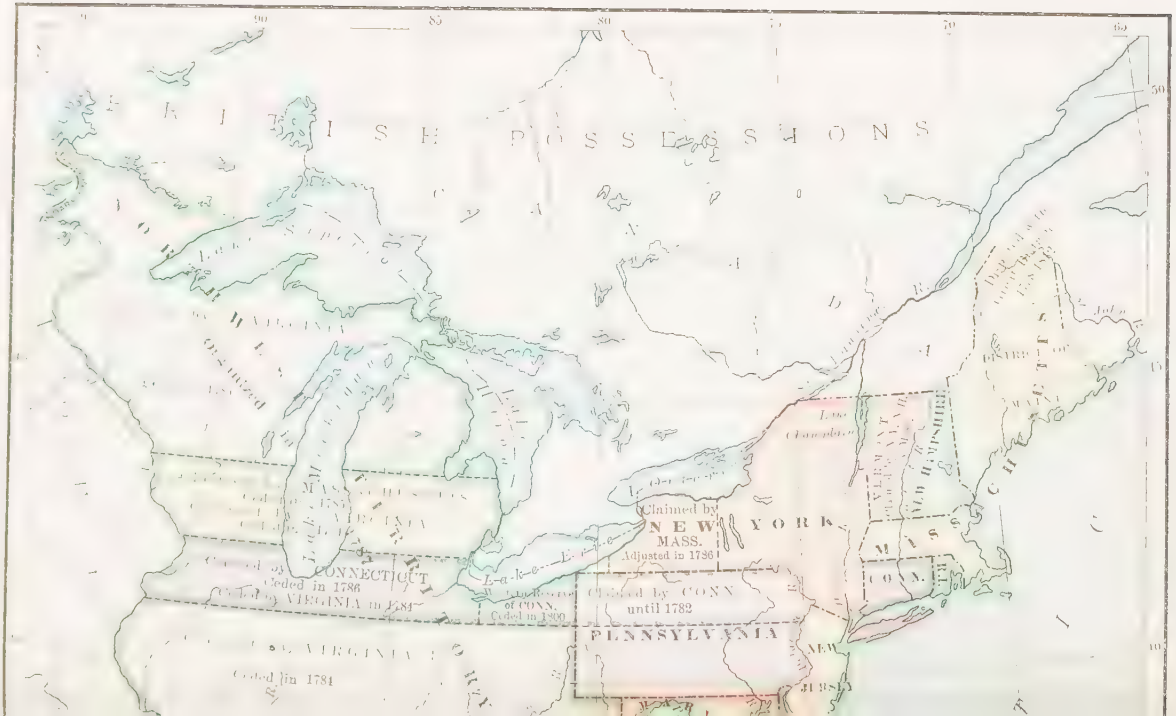
A government so weak at home could command little respect abroad. Soon after the Revolution, Parliament began to enforce again the restrictions upon American trade which had threatened to ruin the colonial commerce. Of course these acts of Parliament embittered the Americans, and they sought some way to retaliate, but thirteen independent states could not, or would not, agree upon a united plan, and as Congress could not regulate commerce, nothing was done.

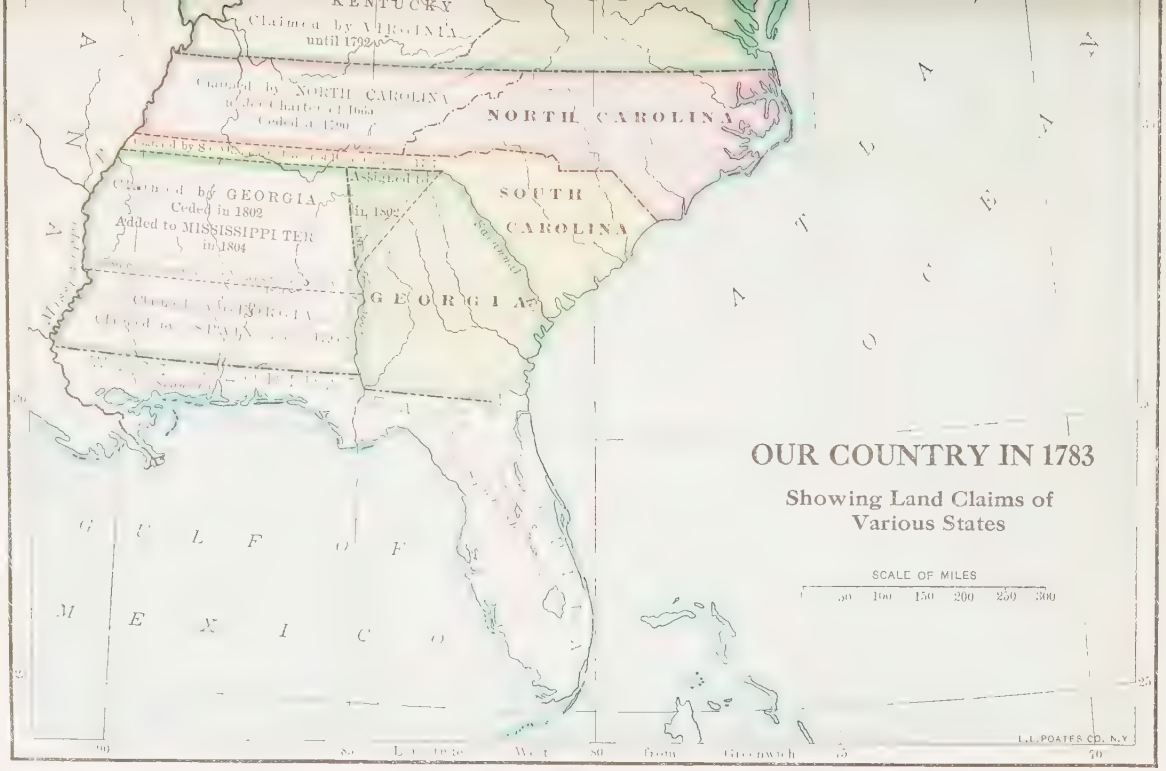
The states wage commercial war against one another.

Each state, in managing its own commerce, tried to gain advantages over the other states. To increase its foreign trade, a state sometimes made its duties on imported goods lower than those of a neighboring state. Duties were levied on goods carried from one state to another. For example, New York laid a duty on chickens, vegetables, and dairy products from New Jersey, and on firewood from Connecticut. New Jersey retaliated by laying a tax of $1,800 a year upon a lighthouse which New York had erected on the New Jersey shore, and the merchants in Connecticut held meetings for the purpose of stopping trade with New York. All such unfriendly bickerings over interstate trade could only result, if they continued, in civil war and the political ruin of the Confederation.

Financial distress leads to demand for paper-money issues and to Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts.

There were other commercial difficulties of a serious nature. After the Revolution our imports, which had to be paid for in specie, were so much greater than our exports that the country was soon drained of nearly all its gold and silver. The need of money caused financial distress throughout the country. Business depression grew worse. The taxes were heavy, people were in debt, and they could not get money for what they had to sell. As a result, nearly all the states issued paper money, that is, promises to pay which they called money. Massachusetts was not among the number, although in that state there was great distress, especially among the farmers in the western part. The cattle and the farms were


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
NEW YORK
Claimed by MASS.
Adjusted in 1786
CONNECTICUT
Ceded in 1786
Claimed by CONN
until 1782
PENNSYLVANIA
Ceded in 1784
Ceded in 1784
MASS.
CONN.
Lake Champlain
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie


KENTUCKY
Claimed by VIRGINIA
until 1792
Claimed by NORTH CAROLINA
under Charter of 1663
Ceded in 1790
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH
CAROLINA
Claimed by GEORGIA
Ceded in 1802
Added to MISSISSIPPI TER
in 1804
GEORGIA
G U L F O F
M E X I C O
OUR COUNTRY IN 1783
Showing Land Claims of
Various States
SCALE OF MILES
50 100 150 200 250 300
L.L.POATES CO. N.Y.

sold by the sheriff, and the people were sometimes thrown into prison for debt. When the state legislature refused to issue paper money, 2,000 angry farmers in the region about Springfield and Worcester, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, surrounded the court-houses in those cities and, for a time, put a stop to all lawsuits against debtors. In the latter part of 1786 and the early part of 1787 they almost had their own way. They tried to seize the arsenal at Springfield for the purpose of securing muskets and cannon with which to defend themselves against the officers of the law. It was about seven months before the rebellion was put down by the state militia.

The yielding of the Northwest claims to ownership in common results in better feeling between states.

Thus, because Congress was unable to regulate commerce and to raise money by taxation, difficulties were growing day by day. There was still another vexing question. That was the conflicting claims to the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi, known as the Northwest Territory. Each of four states claimed a part or all of it. Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed the northern part by their chartered rights. New York claimed all of it on account of an agreement with the Iroquois Indians. Virginia claimed all of it, not only by chartered right, but also by the conquest of George Rogers Clark during the Revolution.

These conflicting claims led to bitter disputes, in which Maryland also took part. She objected to the ownership of the Northwest Territory by a part of the states. She said that since all the states had fought France and England to gain this territory, all the states should have a share. Therefore Maryland had refused to agree to the Articles of Confederation until these claims were given up. When the four states yielded, Maryland signed the articles in 1781.

In taking this position Maryland did a great service to the whole country. The common possession of the Northwest Territory by the thirteen states made a bond which held the states more closely together. They all had an equal interest in this extensive region, which, when it was sold, would provide Congress with money to pay its debts.

An important ordinance passed (1787).

As an instrument of government for the Northwest Territory the Ordinance of 1787 was passed by Congress and became the most important act of the Confederation. The act provided that in time from three to five states should be formed out of the territory, that schools and the means of education should be encouraged, and that religious and political liberty should prevail throughout the territory. A provision of particular importance was that slavery was to be forever prohibited, although runaway slaves were to be returned to their masters. This provision had much influence in the later struggle over the extension of slavery.

Grandchildren of the Pilgrims move westward to Ohio Valley.

Shortly after the passage of the ordinance of 1787 the Ohio Company[1] bought a large tract of land lying north of the Ohio River. In the spring of 1788 a party of forty-eight young men from New England set out for the new region. They went down the Ohio River, floating or poling along in a clumsy boat with a flat bottom and bullet-proof sides. These New England Pilgrims, as we may call them, fittingly named their boat the *Mayflower*.

Early in April they made a landing where the Muskingum River flows into the Ohio. A special advantage of this site was that Fort Harmon stood on the opposite bank of the Muskingum River, and soldiers would be close at hand to protect the new town against the Indians. This first settlement in Ohio was called Marietta. Like their forefathers at Plymouth, these later "Pilgrims" cut down trees and cleared fields for the spring planting. In due time the soil responded with growing crops, and a blockhouse and log cabins were built. The new settlers, nearly all of whom had fought in the Revolution, were rugged men, who faced without flinching the hardships of pioneer life. In the year in which Marietta was settled, another company made a purchase of land farther down the Ohio, where Cincinnati now stands.

[1] Its full name was the "Ohio Company of Associates." It was organized in Boston in 1786 for the purpose of obtaining homes in the West for soldiers of the Revolution.

Commercial difficulties lead to conference at Annapolis and the sending of delegates to Philadelphia to amend the Articles of Confederation.

In organizing the Northwest Territory, the Confederation had been most successful, but the commercial and financial difficulties ending in Shays's Rebellion showed its weakness as a system of government. If similar uprisings should occur in other states the Confederation would be almost powerless. To devise a stronger government, therefore, and especially to work out a method of regulating commerce, the Constitutional Convention was called.

Many commercial problems were pressing. Western settlement showed the need of connecting the East and the West by a system of canals. As the navigation of the Potomac River was involved, commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met to adopt regulations for the use of this river by the two states (1785). When the Virginia legislature accepted the commissioners' report, they invited all the states to send delegates to a convention the following year. This convention was to consider commercial regulations for the whole country. As delegates from only five states met at Annapolis in 1786, it did not seem worth while to discuss the business for which they came together. Before adjourning, however, they recommended that delegates from all

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, PHILADELPHIA, 1787.

George Washington presiding, Alexander Hamilton speaking; Benjamin Franklin at right of picture.
After a painting by Sidney M. Chase.

the states should meet to consider the Articles of Confederation and make them adequate to the needs of the country.

The Constitutional Convention evolves a bold plan for a binding central government.

All the states except Rhode Island appointed delegates, among whom were their ablest men. The convention met in Philadelphia and remained in secret session for four months. George Washington was chosen to preside. At the outset the leaders in the convention decided not to amend the Articles of Confederation, but to work out a new plan of government. As James Madison, of Virginia, contributed more ideas than any other member of the convention, he has been called the "Father of the Constitution." A convincing advocate was Alexander Hamilton. Both on the floor of the convention and elsewhere these two men never tired in their efforts to organize a strong and lasting union.

The Connecticut Compromise settles differences between the small and the large states.

With the many conflicting interests between the large and the small states, a long and bitter struggle was to be expected. The large states insisted that the number of representatives to Congress should depend upon the number of people in the state. The small states held that the states should be equally represented in Congress. After an exciting debate, lasting more than a month, an agreement known as the Connecticut Compromise was effected. According to this agreement, the representatives in the lower house were to vary in number with the population of the state, while in the Senate there were to be two members from each state. The small states were satisfied with this plan.

Compromises between the free and the slave states.

Another serious conflict arose between the free states and the slave states. In determining the basis of population for the number of representatives in Congress, some of the slave states demanded that all the slaves should be counted. The free states opposed the counting of any of the slaves. Finally, it was agreed that three-fifths of the slaves should be counted.

Connected with the discussion was the foreign slave-trade.

North of Delaware and Maryland slavery was dying out; even in Virginia there was great opposition to it. But South Carolina and Georgia so strongly desired to bring more slaves from Africa that they would not accept the Constitution if the foreign slave-trade should be discontinued. While the Northern states, especially New England, opposed this trade, they urged another measure which the South firmly opposed. The New England states desired that Congress, rather than the states, should have absolute control over commerce, while the slave states stood for a limited control. They held that no law affecting commerce should be passed without a two-thirds vote of Congress.

Since each desired a measure opposed by the other, a compromise was agreed upon. Congress was to regulate commerce by a mere majority vote in both the Senate and the House, and the importation of slaves was not to be stopped before 1808.

Three departments of government are provided for.

To strengthen the new national government three departments similar to those in the states were agreed upon. There was to be a body to make the laws; this was Congress. There was to be some one to see that the laws were carried out; this was the President. There were to be bodies to interpret the laws, to try cases arising under them, and to decide whether or not laws passed by Congress or any state legislature were in harmony with the Constitution; these were courts, the highest to be known as the Supreme Court. These three departments of government were called respectively legislative, executive, and judicial.

The new government was to have power; that is, power to make war and peace, to regulate commerce, to raise money by taxation, and to deal with other problems affecting all the people alike. Congress was no longer to be the agent of the separate states; now it was to act for the whole people because it represented the whole people.

Added to the problems of the convention are the objections raised by the states.

The problems which we have mentioned were only a few of the many which the Constitutional Convention had to solve. The situation was extremely complicated. At times it seemed that the convention would break up in confusion. In-

deed, some of the delegates did go home before the close of the convention because they did not like everything that was being done; and some who remained to the end of the long session did not approve the work and did not sign their names.

When the draft of the Constitution was completed, it was presented to Congress, which in turn passed it on to the states, where it was submitted to conventions chosen by the people. In some of the states there was much bitter discussion before it was ratified. Many objections were offered. Some feared that the new Union would have so much power that it would overwhelm the states, and that the President would become a tyrant. Others withheld their approval until it was agreed that as soon as the Constitution should go into effect, amendments should be made which would assure protection to the life, liberty, and property of the people.

Two political parties are formed on the issue.

Among the Federalists, or supporters of the Constitution, were Washington, Franklin, and Madison, all of whom firmly believed in a strong central government to control all matters of national interest. But the man who more than any other leader convinced the people that it was wise to adopt the Constitution was Hamilton. This he accomplished through his essays in *The Federalist*, and by his powerful speeches and his able management of men in the New York convention, which ratified the Constitution only after a prolonged struggle. The men who opposed the Federal Constitution were called Anti-Federalists. The brilliant orator Patrick Henry belonged to this political party.

The Constitution is ratified (June 21, 1788).

The adoption of the Constitution required the ratification[1] of nine states. When the ninth state, New Hampshire, ratified it on June 21, 1788, it went into effect and preparations were begun for the organization of the new government. Within two years from the time this was accomplished, ten amendments were proposed by Congress and ratified by the

[1] The order in which the thirteen original states ratified the Constitution was as follows: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire were the first nine to ratify; Virginia and New York followed soon after, and North Carolina and Rhode Island after the inauguration of Washington.

states, in accordance with the agreement which had been made beforehand. They guaranteed, among other things, freedom of speech and of the press, religious freedom, "the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances," and also the right of trial by jury. These amendments, which are rightly called a "Bill of Rights," were very helpful in building up confidence in the new government.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. The period from the close of the Revolution to the adoption of the Constitution has rightly been called the Critical Period. There were several things to be done before a real nation could emerge; the colonies had to establish a central government, pay their debts, and settle with the Tories.
2. Why was there a delay in the adoption of the Articles of Confederation? What is meant by saying that Congress was merely an advisory body?
3. What was the relation between Congress and the various states?
4. Be sure that you get clear ideas about the following topics: commercial war between the states; Congress without power to regulate commerce.
5. What financial difficulties did the Confederation have after the close of the Revolution? What caused Shays's Rebellion?
6. What claims were made by various states to the Northwest Territory? Why did Maryland object to these claims?
7. Give reasons why the Confederation broke down.
8. Why have the following been called steps toward union: the New England Confederation; Franklin's plan of union; Committees of Correspondence; the first meeting of the Continental Congress; the second meeting of the Continental Congress; the Articles of Confederation; and the Constitution?
9. Outline the great compromises in the Constitution, showing what each group wanted and what compromise was made in each case. One endangered our national existence later. Could it have been avoided?
10. In what ways did the Constitution make the central government stronger than it had been under the Articles of Confederation?
11. What position was taken by those who opposed the Constitution? You cannot overestimate Hamilton's and Madison's service in support of the Constitution in "The Federalist."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, 230–305; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 117–135; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 238–254; Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, 118–134; Channing, III, 463–524; Wilson, *George Washington*; Scudder, *George Washington*.

TO 1865

The thirteen states had together formed a government with a Constitution. Although at first weak and without friends in the family of nations, the young republic grew rapidly in united strength and in the hope of a great future. France and England, then the mighty powers on the sea, crippled the commerce of the young nation and disregarded her rights. French ships fought with American ships; British ships fought with American ships; but the spirit of this little group of new states could not be daunted. And so there ensued another war with England. Although opposed by superior forces, America emerged victorious and more than that: the daring and the valor of American seamen warmed the hearts of the patriots and cheered them in that more difficult work of building and strengthening the new union. Long may the brilliant deeds of those sea-fighters brighten the pages of our history!

Then our people grew together in unity and peace. They moved westward, as, for centuries in Europe, whole races had moved westward. They bought the great Louisiana Territory and found that it was large and wonderful. Thousands came from abroad to join them. In the valley of the Mississippi and on the great plains beyond, these brave pioneers found a new free-

dom, a new opportunity. Truly it was a New World, a new United States, proud of its adventures, bold to push on to greater achievements, filled with the American spirit.

A black cloud arose in the heaven. It was the omen of a great storm!

Must there be strife between brothers? Could there be a war between Americans? Men of the South then honestly believed in the institution of slavery and as honestly stood for the right of their individual states. Men of the North honestly opposed them. The difference grew in intensity and in bitterness. Statesmen strove to hold back the terrible moment when men of our fair land should plunge into a great civil war. Leaders whom the South believed, leaders whom the North believed, came forth to fight, each for his side of a cause which he was willing to die for. The great President, just and foreseeing, spoke words of wisdom and watched over with sleepless eye the fate of our united nation. He could not suffer that the republic should be dismembered. It seemed then that his words were in vain; now we know that they were inspired, that they were the spirit of America striving to hold its children together in one great liberty-loving nation.

The Union was greater than any state. Abraham Lincoln died a martyr but the government at Washington still lived.

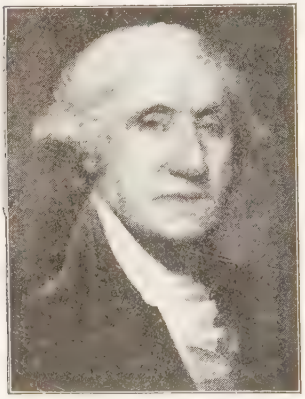
CHAPTER IX

THE UNITED STATES ACHIEVES COMMERCIAL INDEPENDENCE (1789–1815)

A. Conditions and Problems in the Formative Years of Our Government

Washington becomes the first President.

With the organization of the new government it was natural that the people should wish George Washington to be the first President.[1] He stood for no party. He was the choice of all and received the unanimous vote of the presidential electors.[2] John Adams, of Massachusetts, was elected Vice-President.



GEORGE WASHINGTON.
After a painting by Gilbert Stuart

The inauguration took place in Federal Hall, New York City, then the capital of the country. The time set was the first Wednesday in March, but the ceremony did not occur until April 30, because travelling was so slow that it was impossible for Congress to meet and count the electoral votes in time for the appointed date. It was a most impressive occasion. After the oath of office had been solemnly spoken, the chancellor of New York turned to the listening throng and cried: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" The cry was joyously taken up and echoed by the people, great masses of whom had escorted Washington in his progress to Federal Hall.

[1] George Washington, first President of the United States (1789–1797), was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732, and died at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799. While at school he was painstaking with his work, excelled

[2] See Sec. I, Art. II, of the Constitution.

The number and distribution of the people in 1790.

It will be interesting to notice some of the outstanding features of the young republic as it takes up its independent life among the nations. According to the census of the United States of 1790, the population was nearly 4,000,000, about one-fifth of whom were negroes. Most of the

people lived in the thirteen original states, not more than 5 per cent being west of the Alleghanies. The inhabited area lay along the coast from Maine to Florida, extending inward about two hundred and fifty-five miles. The most thickly settled parts were the coast of Massachusetts, southern New England, and New York. Other well-settled regions included the Hudson River valley as far as Albany, the Mohawk valley, the route now followed by the Pennsylvania Railroad from New York across New Jersey to Philadelphia, and the river valleys of eastern Virginia.

in athletic sports, and often acted as judge in deciding disputes between his companions. As a young man his bravery, patriotism, and military prowess brought him into notice in the Last French War, and led to his being chosen by the Continental Congress as commander-in-chief of the American troops during the entire period of the Revolution. As a man he possessed a commanding presence and dignified manner, and his unfailing judgment, keen moral sense, lofty purpose, and rare power of winning men's confidence help to explain his wonderful career.

MT. VERNON, HOME OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Virginia ranked first in population, with 532,000 inhabitants, counting slaves. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, each with about 330,000, stood next. There were no large cities. The principal commercial centres were Philadelphia, with about 31,000; New York, with 23,000; Boston, with 15,000; Baltimore, with 13,000; and Charleston, with nearly 11,000. These five cities contained fewer inhabitants than Albany or Salt Lake City alone contains to-day.

Travelling is difficult by land.

In general the people lived along rivers or along the coast, because the easiest and most convenient method of travel was by boat or packet-sloop. It is not easy to realize how simple the conditions were in those days. Try to imagine life without steamboats, railroads, trolley-cars, automobiles, the telegraph and telephones, and you will have an idea of how slowly the affairs of the world moved in 1789.

The clumsy stage-coach was the best method of conveying passengers and goods by land. In Washington's first administration two stage-coaches and twelve horses were sufficient to accommodate all the people and carry all the goods passing between Boston and New York, two of the chief commercial centres of the country. To make the trip took about as long as it does now to go from Boston to San Francisco, or from New York to Liverpool. In summer the stage-coach covered forty miles a day. In winter, when snow lay upon the ground or the roads were heavy with mud, the distance was cut down to twenty-five miles a day. About ten o'clock at night the traveller alighted at a wayside inn and was called at three o'clock the next morning, in time to renew the journey for another

eighteen hours. It is small wonder that such a journey was an event of a lifetime.

There were no bridges, and in going from Boston to Philadelphia the passengers had to be ferried across from eight to ten rivers. In a high wind these crossings were very dangerous,

THE STAGE BETWEEN BOSTON AND NEW YORK.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

especially in winter, owing to great blocks of floating ice, and not uncommonly the ferry-boat was upset. The passage from New York to Jersey City (then Paulus Hook) often involved more risk than a trip now does from New York to Japan.

Poor mail service and clumsy methods of travelling are not helpful to national patriotism.

To-day express-trains carry mail in less than six hours from New York to Boston. In Washington's time a postman carrying the mail on horseback over the same route, took six days to make the trip in summer and nine in winter. A pair of saddle-bags sufficed to hold all the mail between these two commercial centres. Postmen carried mail from New York to Philadelphia five times a week, and took two days for the journey. In regions remote from business centres an old man was

WINTER TRIP OF THE POST-RIDER.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

often made post-rider. While his horse jogged leisurely along he would while away the hours of loneliness in knitting socks and mittens or in opening and reading the letters in the mail-bag.

With such primitive methods of travelling and communication, the people remained in ignorance of those parts of the country which were not near them. The Massachusetts citizen, naturally, knew little of the citizen of South Carolina, and neither understood the other. Much prejudice, some foolish, some explainable, existed between the states and made enthusiasm for the Union impossible. We can understand, therefore, why the patriotism was a state patriotism rather than a national patriotism.

Washington's formality is not agreeable to all the people.

Much the larger part of the wealthy and commercial population was in the cities. These groups were aristocrats in their feelings and were inclined to imitate English social and official customs. Politically they belonged largely to the Federalist party, and, believing in a strong central government, they wished the presidential office to be one of dignity. Washington had seen something of the pomp and state of the royal governor's court in Virginia, and it seems to have appealed to his sense of fitness. He therefore surrounded himself with much ceremony. On state occasions he rode in a coach drawn by six horses; on ordinary occasions in a coach drawn by four horses. When walking on the street he

was followed at a distance by a body-servant in livery. Every Tuesday afternoon, from three to four o'clock, he held a public reception, when he appeared in court dress, with powdered hair, a dress-sword at his side, and a cocked hat under his arm. Standing with his right hand behind him, he bowed formally as the guests were presented to him. Moreover, he allowed his birthday to be celebrated. These customs offended some of the people and caused them to imagine that Washington wished to become king. They would have been better pleased if he had dressed plainly and lived as simply as an ordinary citizen. Men equally good and honorable differ in such matters. However, form and ceremony did not affect the more serious affairs of the administration.

JOHN JAY.

The organization of the new government. Washington's first duty was to organize the new government. The most important officers were the members of the cabinet, because they were the heads of the various executive departments, who helped the President in doing his official work. He chose four eminent citizens, representing both political parties: Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; General Henry Knox, secretary of war; and Edmund Randolph, attorney-general. John Jay was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Two great leaders and the issue: Shall the federal or the state government be supreme? Hamilton was a stanch Federalist, but Jefferson was a bitter opponent of the Federalists. They became the respective leaders of the two political parties, and were soon engaged in a long and bitter struggle to carry out their opposing views of government. The struggle was not personal, but one of principles, and did not end when Hamilton and Jefferson passed out of public life. Shall the federal government be

supreme over the state? Shall there be a liberal construction of the Constitution, so as to grant large powers to Congress and the President? Hamilton said "yes," because he wished the federal government to be supreme. He stood for a "liberal construction" of the Constitution. Jefferson said "no." He feared the federal government might become so strong as to rob the states of their powers. He believed in a "strict construction" of the Constitution.

Hamilton's plan to build up the nation's credit is opposed by Jefferson.

Of the many difficulties that the new government had to face, the most serious and pressing were its debts. If it was to be respected at home and abroad, these must be paid and a stable financial policy established.

Alexander Hamilton, therefore, recommended that the United States should agree to pay in full all the debts of the Confederation, both those which it owed to other nations and those which it owed to American citizens. To this Congress agreed. But Hamilton's plan for building up the nation's credit went further. He proposed that, in addition to the debts which had been handed down by the Confederation, the nation should agree to pay the debts of the separate states.

As the debts of the states were mostly loans from wealthy Americans, who were men of influence, he believed these creditors would favor giving the government large taxing powers through which to obtain the revenue to pay the debts. Such taxing power would make the nation strong in a financial way. It would also tend to increase the authority of the nation over the separate states.

This part of the plan was novel and unexpected, and alarmed the followers of Jefferson. They believed that the states in large part should govern themselves. They dreaded more than all else a strong central government, because they feared it might lead to monarchy. They accused Hamilton of trying to place the people under the rule of a king. Accordingly, the followers of Jefferson opposed the payment by the United States of the state debts and by a narrow majority defeated Hamilton's plan.

Compromise results in locating the capital at Washington.

Afterward, however, it was agreed to locate the new capital, Washington, upon the banks of the Potomac, and the Jeffersonians voted for Hamilton's plan, by which the United States promised to pay the state debts. The measure proved to be a very wise one. It was a brilliant example of Hamilton's[1] far-seeing statesmanship.

Taxes are laid on foreign trade and liquors.

How to raise money to pay all these debts was a weighty problem. At its first session Congress laid an indirect tax upon vessels and certain kinds of goods coming into this country from foreign ports. This tax, or tariff, was not only for the purpose of raising a revenue but also for protecting the manufacturing industries which were springing up in various parts of the United States. As this tariff did not yield enough revenue for the country's need, a direct tax was laid on whiskey and the other distilled liquors (1794). Direct taxes are not generally popular. This one was no exception. It was an unpleasant reminder of the Stamp Act. We need not be surprised that resistance was soon offered to this direct tax imposed by the new government.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Washington asserts the power of the federal government in putting down the Whiskey Rebellion (1794).

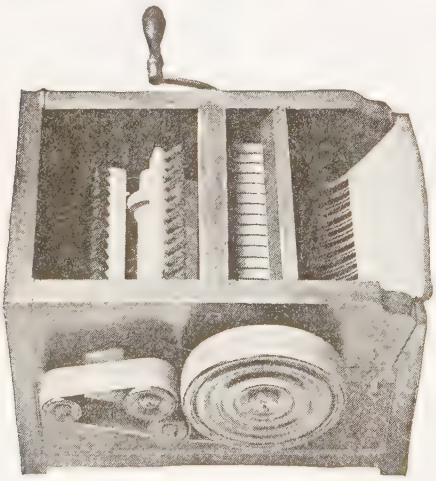
The people of western Pennsylvania lived so far from business centres, which they could reach only by poor roads, that it was very expensive for them to carry their grain to market. There was more profit in making the grain into whiskey, which was much less bulky and more easily transported. As the tax levied on the whiskey lessened the profits, the farmers

[1] Forty years later Daniel Webster, in eulogy of Hamilton, said: "He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of Public Credit, and it sprang to its feet."

regarded it as unjust. They therefore refused to pay it, and severely handled officers sent by the government to see that the law was enforced. They offered armed resistance, but Washington promptly sent a body of troops, which put down the insurrection. This was known as the Whiskey Rebellion.

Invention of the cotton-gin has far-reaching effects.

More far-reaching in its effect was another event of this period. It was the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1793. The influence of this invention upon the future history of the country cannot be measured. Without the cotton-gin, a slave could in a day separate the seeds from only a few pounds of cotton fibre; with the aid of the cotton-gin he could in the same time do fifty times as much. Thus the value of slave labor was greatly increased, and the planter could afford to sell his cotton much cheaper than before.



MODEL OF WHITNEY'S COTTON-GIN, NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON.

At once there was a great demand for cotton from the English as well as from the Northern cotton-mills, and its culture, which up to that time had not been large, became highly profitable. Its effect upon slavery was marked. The general belief had been that slavery would gradually die out all over the country. It did not pay in the North, where there were no large plantations demanding cheap labor, and in that region it was already disappearing. But now the cotton-growers in the South and the owners of cotton-mills in the North had a commercial interest in slavery, for it helped them make money fast in the cotton business. There was an ever-increasing demand for cotton goods, because the price of cotton had been greatly lessened by the

cotton-gin, and naturally enough, it was claimed that cotton-raising could not be carried on successfully without slave labor. Hence came the demand in the cotton states for more and more slaves.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Note the fact that Washington was President for two terms, 1789–1797. Consider his self-sacrificing example and the loyalty of the people toward him as a factor in drawing the states together during those trying times.
2. With your map before you, study carefully the distribution of the people in 1790. Why did the people live mainly along rivers or on the coast?
3. Try to form vivid mental pictures of travel by the old stage-coach. How did the early methods of travel and communication affect the attitude of the people in one state toward those of another? On all these topics McMaster's History, vol. I, will repay careful reading.
4. "Shall the federal government be supreme over the states?" You may well keep this great question in mind, for it will come up repeatedly in the subsequent periods of our history. As you will find later, disagreement about the answer led at last to Civil War. What is meant by "strict construction" of the Constitution?
5. Why did Hamilton urge that the United States should agree to pay the debts of the separate states? Why did Jefferson's followers oppose this part of Hamilton's plan? In consideration of Hamilton's services in the adoption of the Constitution and as first secretary of the treasury, what should be his place among our nation-builders?
6. Which do you think was right in his attitude toward the state debts, Hamilton or Jefferson? Bear in mind that both Hamilton and Jefferson were zealous to safeguard liberty—one through the agency of the federal government, the other through the states.
7. Review the difference between a direct and an indirect tax. What direct tax was levied? Why was it unpopular?
8. Consider the influence the invention of the cotton-gin had upon the history of the United States. Explain why not only the Southern planters but also the Northern cotton-mill owners had a keener interest in slavery after the cotton-gin was invented.
9. For social life in New England and in other states read Coffin's "Building the Nation."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 42–62, 112–118; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 269–287; Channing, III, 176–204, 211–232; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, 34–48; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 137–153; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton;* Wilson, *George Washington;* Andrews, *History of the United States*, chap. X.

POETRY: Holmes, *Ode for Washington's Birthday.*

B. Complicated Foreign Relations in the Early Years of the New Government

Years of trial for the young republic. When Washington became President in 1789, many intelligent people in Europe and America doubted whether the federal union would long continue. This doubt was reasonable, for the young republic was weak and there was little national feeling. A foreign traveller visiting the United States at this time observed that he found no Americans, that the people were all English or French in their feelings and sympathies. The English party, or the Hamiltonians, and the French party, or Jeffersonians, disliked each other almost as intensely as Englishmen and Frenchmen disliked each other in Europe.

The United States tries to keep free from European troubles. Soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789), war began between France and England, and, with short intervals of peace, continued until Napoleon's downfall at Waterloo (1815). During this great struggle many efforts were made to draw the United States into the war. Both France and England desired that this country should not remain neutral. When the United States refused to form an alliance with either country, both of them interfered with our commerce and showed little respect for us as a people.

During the next two decades there followed a period of anxiety for the well-wishers of the republic. Throughout these years the nation was engaged in a prolonged struggle for commercial independence. During the American Revolution the people had fought to become politically independent. The period beginning with the organization of the new government was largely one of commercial difficulties and culminated in the War of 1812, which has been rightly called the Second War of Independence.

Washington decides on neutrality as between France and England. The French Revolution, which had broken out during the first year Washington was President, was of especial interest to America, because France had so recently helped Americans to achieve their independence.

Like the American Revolution, it was part of a great world movement toward the freedom of the people, but in its expression it was different from our own, because the government against which the people revolted was different. The people of France had been so oppressively taxed and otherwise misgoverned that they resorted to great excesses. They overturned the government completely and put to death the king and queen. A "reign of terror" followed, in which thousands of men and women were guillotined; and when the French Republic, thus inaugurated, sought to extend its ideas of freedom, the neighboring monarchical countries united to war against it. France, defying these powers, declared war against England and Holland in 1793.

There was division of feeling in this country. Hamilton and his followers sympathized with England; Jefferson and his supporters with the French Revolutionists. As France had helped us in the American Revolution, the French held that we ought to assist them in their struggle for freedom. But the revolutionists resorted to such extreme violence that cautious minds began to regard them with distrust. Besides, the leaders of the administration, Washington and Hamilton, agreed that we were too weak to become involved in European wars, and the President, therefore, issued a Proclamation of Neutrality.

Citizen Genet defies Washington and is recalled.

The French Government, the Directory, knowing that many Americans were in sympathy with the French Revolutionists, sent Citizen Genet as minister to the United States. He was so indiscreet that, in utter defiance of the President, he tried to fit out American privateers to engage in destroying English commerce. In answer to objections from Washington, Genet threatened to appeal to the people, hoping they would approve his course and take his side against the President. This threat was a striking bit of audacity and showed the contempt Genet had for our government. But public opinion was on the side of Washington, and at his request Citizen Genet was recalled. Although this man may surprise us by his foolish insolence, his conduct is an unpleasant reminder to us all of the superior attitude to our country which the nations of Europe took at that time.

Jay's treaty with England is very unpopular (1795).

Another source of trouble was the peace treaty with England. At the close of the Revolution she had agreed to surrender Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and other northwestern forts, but she had failed to do so. Moreover, she seriously interfered with our commerce, first by forcibly stopping and searching our vessels for deserters and in many cases impressing American seamen into her service, and second by interfering with our trade with the British West Indies. On their side, the English claimed that we had failed to keep our part of the same treaty by refusing to pay certain debts owed by Americans to English merchants, and by not making good the losses sustained by American Tories when they left their homes in this country during the Revolution.

JOHN ADAMS.

To settle these difficulties John Jay was sent over to England. As a result a treaty was agreed upon which settled nothing about the impressment of American seamen. England refused to stop this practice, but Jay felt that in our weak position among the nations of the world we must be satisfied with what we could get from a country so much stronger than our own. Washington, believing the treaty was the best we could arrange, urged its adoption. There was great indignation among the people. Hamilton was stoned in New York while making a speech in its defense, and Washington was so bitterly attacked and so unjustly accused that he said he would rather be in his grave than be President.

These public questions give rise to definite party lines.

These questions of public policy naturally had much weight in defining party lines. Originally, those in favor of adopting the Constitution were called Federalists, and those opposing the adoption, Anti-Fed-

eralists. Jefferson, you will remember, opposed the Federalists, and his followers called themselves Republicans. Since, however, they favored the French Revolutionists, the Federalists called them Democrats, after the French Democrats. A little later they became known as Democratic-Republicans. In Andrew Jackson's administration they were called Democrats, and the name has remained until the present time.

The French recall their minister and attack our ships.

The Jay treaty had a bearing also upon our relations with France. When the treaty with England was ratified, the French were so incensed that they sent home our minister and recalled their own from the United States. French cruisers, too, openly attacked our merchant vessels. This country was too weak for war, and wishing to avoid it, if possible, President Adams[1] took steps toward bringing about an understanding with France.

America's reply: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

The French having promised to receive with honor a commission to discuss a settlement of the difficulties, President Adams sent over three envoys. Upon their arrival they were informed that peace with France could be secured only on two conditions: (1) That gifts of money be paid to members of the Directory, and (2) that a loan be made to France for carrying on her wars. "It is expected that you will offer money," said one of the French agents to our envoys. "What is your answer?" "It is no, no, no! not a sixpence!" our envoys replied, with in-

[1] John Adams, second President of the United States (1797–1801), was born at Braintree, now a part of Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1735, and died July 4, 1826. After graduating from Harvard he became a lawyer. He was a prominent member of the Continental Congress, and proposed Washington for commander-in-chief of the American troops. Being an eloquent advocate of independence, he did much to bring about a political separation from England. He was one of the three commissioners who negotiated a treaty of peace with Great Britain at the close of the Revolution, and afterward became the first American minister to England. His honesty and courage won the admiration of his friends, but his obstinacy and lack of tact involved him in many quarrels.

John Adams was inaugurated at Philadelphia, which had taken the place of New York as seat of the government. During his term of office, in 1800, Washington became the capital.

dignation. The papers reporting these shameful propositions to Congress did not bear the names of the secret agents representing the French Government, but these men, when referred to, were designated by the letters X Y Z. Hence the papers were called the "X Y Z Papers." When the correspondence was made public, there was wrathful indignation throughout the United States, which was voiced in the rallying cry: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

Trouble with France is averted.

Congress immediately prepared for war. An army was organized with Washington as commander. Meantime the French continued to capture our vessels. They seized more than 500. A state of war existed on the sea, where Commodore Truxton defeated and captured two French frigates.[1] These defeats recalled France from her hostile attitude, and when President Adams again sent over envoys, Napoleon Bonaparte, who was then ruler of France as First Consul, made a satisfactory settlement with this country.

Alien and sedition laws result in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798).

These difficulties with France quickened the patriotism of our people and for the time strengthened the Federalist party, which was then in power. Its leaders went too far, however, when they passed the alien and sedition laws. The alien law gave the President power to send out of the country any foreigner whom he might think dangerous to the peace. The sedition law gave him power to fine and imprison any one who might conspire against the government or publish anything unfavorable to it. These laws had been prompted by bitter and slanderous attacks made upon President Adams and the government by Democratic-Republican newspapers, many of which were under the

[1] Out of the excitement that thrilled the people the song "Hail, Columbia" sprang. The words were written by a lawyer of Philadelphia, Joseph Hopkinson, and set to the music of the march composed for Washington's inauguration. "Hail, Columbia" was first sung at a theatre in Philadelphia. The applause was tremendous. Men rose to their feet, throwing their hats into the air, and women vigorously waved their handkerchiefs. Again and again the audience called for the song until it had been sung nine times. In a few weeks "Hail, Columbia" was known by thousands of enthusiastic Americans.

influence of Frenchmen who had come to live in the United States.

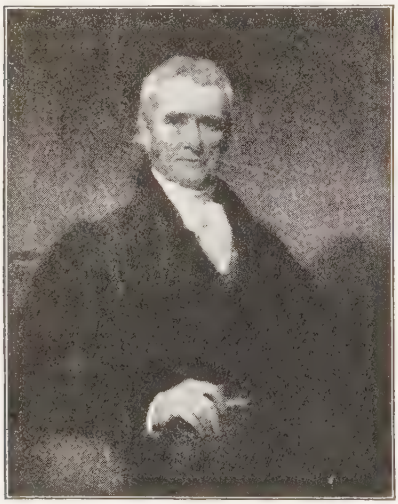
But the sedition law violated the First Amendment to the Constitution by interfering with the freedom of the press, and it aroused in the Democratic-Republicans a feeling of resentment. They said such laws were tyrannical and proved the desire of the

BIRTHPLACES OF JOHN ADAMS (LEFT) AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (RIGHT) AT BRAINTREE (NOW QUINCY), MASS.

Federal leaders for something like monarchy. The Virginia resolutions, written by Madison, and the Kentucky resolutions, written by Jefferson, were an expression of hostility to the alien and sedition laws. These resolutions not only declared the laws to be unconstitutional, but the Kentucky resolutions went so far as to say that a state might rightfully nullify any act passed by Congress that was not constitutional. To nullify a law is to declare it not binding. The doctrine of nullification is that each state should reserve the right to refuse obedience to any law which in its judgment violates the Constitution. This is a most dangerous doctrine, for if it were accepted the Constitution would mean one thing in one state and something else in another. Not only would there be endless confusion, but the Constitution would in time be worth as little as the paper it is written upon, and the federal union would fall to pieces.

Chief Justice Marshall's decisions strengthen the federal union.

That this result did not follow was due largely to the influence of one man, John Marshall,[1] of Virginia. Just before going out of office in 1801, President Adams appointed Marshall as chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. Marshall heartily believed in the liberal construction of the Constitution, and for thirty-five years his decisions as chief justice of the Supreme Court had a formative influence in making the general government superior to the states in all questions affecting the common interests of the whole people. It has well been said of him: "He found the Constitution paper, and made it power; he found it a skeleton, and clothed it with flesh and blood."



CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL.
From a painting by Henry Inman.

From the beginning Chief Justice Marshall held a commanding position in the Supreme Court. His decisions on constitutional law, in which he himself declared that his best biography would be found, prove that he was not only a great judge but an able and clear-sighted statesman. In a simple way but with masterful reasoning he made it clear that the Supreme Court, and only the Supreme Court, has the authority to decide whether or not any law passed by Congress is constitutional. His interpretation of the Constitution was a powerful force in building up a federal union of dignity and strength, and in giving his countrymen a clear idea of the relation of the federal union to the various states.

[1] John Marshall, of Virginia, was a great American, and left his impress upon the government as few men have done. His personal appearance was striking. He was tall and slender, with black hair and keen black eyes, and he dressed sim-

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Review the significance of the following dates: 1492, 1588, 1689, 1763, 1776. Now add to these 1789. Why is it significant? Can you think of any reason for the lack of national feeling among the Americans in 1789?
2. Why was the entire period from 1789 to 1815 one of trial and anxiety for the young republic? Do not forget these dates; they mark an epoch in our history when suspicious states, jealous of their hard-won liberties, awkwardly groped toward nationality. The adoption of the Constitution did not make a nation. The feeling of nationality had to develop.
3. Why did the French Revolutionists maintain that we should aid them in their war with England? What did Washington think about aiding them? Was he right or wrong? Give reasons for your answer after recalling again the motives of France in aiding the colonies, and considering the fact that she tried in the Peace of Paris to deliver to Spain part of the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi.
4. Why was Jay's treaty unsatisfactory to a large part of the American people? What is your opinion of it?
5. How did the French show their anger about the Jay treaty? Explain clearly the "X Y Z Papers." What effect did the "X Y Z" affair have upon the people of the United States at that time?
6. What were the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions? Mark them well. They were a significant and dangerous step toward the nullification and secession movements of later years. How does the Constitution provide for testing the validity of laws passed by Congress? What attitude toward the national government did these resolutions indicate?
7. Chief Justice Marshall's legal interpretations of the powers of the federal government under the Constitution were the next great step toward unity and the supremacy of the national government after the adoption of the Constitution. Memorize the quotation which well indicates the work of this remarkable man.
8. Read Martineau's "The Peasant and the Prince" for clear ideas about the leading facts of the French Revolution.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 158–173; Scudder, *George Washington;* Wilson, *George Washington;* McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II, 367 384; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 269–287; Channing, III, 176–204, 211-232.

FICTION AND ORATORY: Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities;* Henty, *In the Reign of Terror;* Martineau, *The Peasant and the Prince;* Webster, *Eulogy on Washington.*

ply. Being amiable and overflowing in kind feeling he easily won the friendship and love of those who knew him. With rare grasp of mind and greatness of purpose he labored to make the Union strong, and became one of the greatest exponents of constitutional law.

C. *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*

Thomas Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican leader, becomes President.[1]

The Federalists became so unpopular on account of the alien and sedition laws that they failed to re-elect Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the Democratic-Republicans, was made President.[2] As up to this time the national government had been under the control of the Federalists, there were many who believed that the election of the Democratic-Republican President would lead to the country's ruin. In this they were greatly in error, for Jefferson, as President, was cautious about changing the national policies, and he did many things to strengthen the government.

Jefferson's republican simplicity appeals to the people.

It is interesting to observe how Jefferson's personal traits found expression in the administration of his office during the eight years of his presidency. Form and ceremony being distasteful to him, he believed the

[1] Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States (1801–1809), was born at Shadwell, Virginia, in 1743, and died at Monticello, Virginia, July 4, 1826. At seventeen years of age he entered the College of William and Mary, where he was an earnest student. He afterward became one of the most learned men of his times, being known as the "Sage of Monticello." He was also a daring horseman and an excellent violinist. After graduating from college, he studied law and soon exercised a large influence over the politics of his state and country. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress and, as chairman of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, wrote practically all of that document. At the end of his presidential term of office he retired to his beautiful home, Monticello, where he spent the remaining years of his life.

[2] The presidential election for a successor to John Adams caused much bitter feeling between the two political parties. The Federalists cast their votes for John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney; the Republicans for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. As the two latter each received seventy-three electoral votes, neither was elected, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which, according to the Constitution, was to choose one of them for President. The contest was prolonged and exciting, but ended, as above stated, in the choice of Jefferson for President. Burr became Vice-President. This unfortunate contest resulted in the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, in accordance with which the presidential electors must vote separately for President and Vice President.

President should dress simply and should mingle freely with the people. In this respect he presented a marked contrast to the courtly appearance and ceremony of Washington.

On the day of his inauguration he went on foot to the Capitol, in his ordinary dress, escorted by a number of his political friends. It became his custom, when visiting the Capitol, to ride on a horse, which he tied with his own hands upon entering. He did not hold weekly receptions, but entertained hospitably and allowed persons wishing to see him to call at all times. Though the Federalists did not believe it best for men of all classes and conditions to vote, Jefferson, because of his great faith in the people, was an advocate of universal manhood suffrage. We need not be surprised, then, to learn that he became the idol of the masses. Such was the personal side of the first Democratic-Republican President.

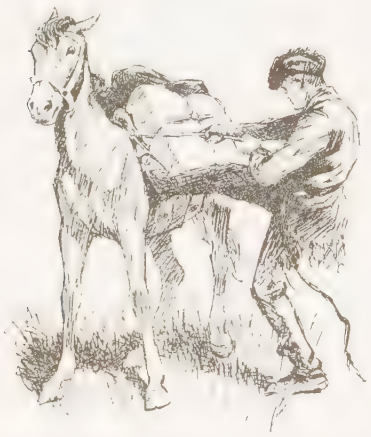
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MONTICELLO, THE HOME OF JEFFERSON.

As a statesman he had long occupied a conspicuous place in the political life of his country, which he had served with ability in many ways. For several years he had been a member of Congress, and from 1785 to 1789 had been United States minister to France. But the event with which we shall always connect his name is the purchase of Louisiana. That was the greatest act of his presidential administration, for it led directly to the settlement of the western area of the Mississippi Valley.

Pioneers settle the Mississippi Valley and the backwoods of Kentucky and Tennessee.

To appreciate the full bearing of Jefferson's act, let us look a little more closely into the experiences of the pioneer settlers. Conditions at this time were much the same as when the early settlers crossed the Alleghany mountains. Their only roads were the forest-trail and the river; their only means of travel and transportation, the pack-horse and the canoe. Yet with courage and daring they travelled along the rough mountain pathways; they planted settlements, and with their rude tillage raised a few vegetables and a little corn for food. Their cabins were built of rough logs and had only one room, with a ladder reaching to a loft above, where the children slept. All was arranged most simply. Upon pegs thrust into the walls the clothing was hung. A rough piece of board resting upon four wooden pegs served as a table, three-legged stools were used as chairs, and wooden bowls as dishes. Life everywhere was plain and democratic. Land was the one thing that was plentiful, and every head of a household had his own farm.

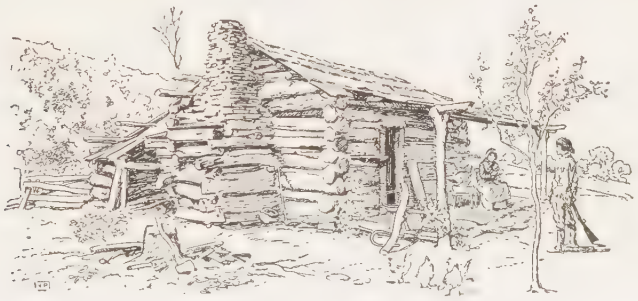


TRANSPORTATION BY PACK HORSE.

The settler relied upon his rifle for meat and for much of his clothing as well, for, like the Indian, he dressed in garments made of the skins of wild animals. A fur cap, a fringed hunting-shirt of buckskin, and moccasins and leggings made an outfit suitable for that wild country. Amusements were necessary, but took a practical turn, log-rollings, corn-huskings, and quiltings being the common relief from the monotony of labor. On these festive occasions the table was loaded with coarse foods, such as the backwoods afforded, with rum and whiskey as beverages. After the feast, dancing, wrestling, racing, and other sports

calling for strength and skill brought the joyful occasion to a close.

The backwoods settlements unfortunately could provide little schooling for the children. Most boys and girls did not go



A FRONTIER LOG CABIN.

much further than reading and writing and ciphering, or simple arithmetic. If there was a schoolhouse at all, it was a log hut, dimly lighted and poorly furnished. The schoolmaster, as a rule, did not know much of books, and as a teacher was quite untrained. His discipline, though severe, was very poor, and he was paid in a way peculiar to backwoods communities. There was little cash; so for a good part of his wages he "boarded round" with the families of the children he taught, making his stay longer or shorter according to the number of school children in the family.

A HAND CORN MILL.

The flatboat aids in movement westward along the Ohio.

It was to such conditions as these that population began to stream westward when the fertile region between the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers was opened for settlement. Yankees from New England, Scotch from New

York, and Germans from Pennsylvania formed the bulk of the second migration to the West. The movement was greatly quickened as soon as the Ohio River was reached, for the settler could carry more goods by the flatboat than by the pack-horse, and could travel much more rapidly, especially when going with

A FLATBOAT ON THE OHIO RIVER.

the current. For this reason the westward movement easily followed the lines of the Ohio and the streams flowing into it from the north.

How the settlers reach their markets.

The rivers were an important feature in the settlement of the West, not only as a means of access to the lands but as carriers of trade. Such bulky products as corn-meal, flour, ham, and bacon could not profitably be carried on pack-horses over the mountains to Eastern business centres; but they could easily be floated on rafts or flatboats down the currents of the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. There, at the seaport, the cargoes could be sold or exchanged and the boats sold as lumber.

The goods received in exchange were usually put aboard vessels sailing for Baltimore or some other Atlantic port, and from there taken over the mountains to the Ohio Valley. Several months were required to make the roundabout trip. But this long, tedious route was the best one by which the Westerners

could get such home comforts as clothing, furniture, and other manufactured products. As the Mississippi was their outlet

FRANQUELIN'S MAP OF LOUISIANA DRAWN IN 1684. REPRODUCED FROM A COPY IN THE LIBRARY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

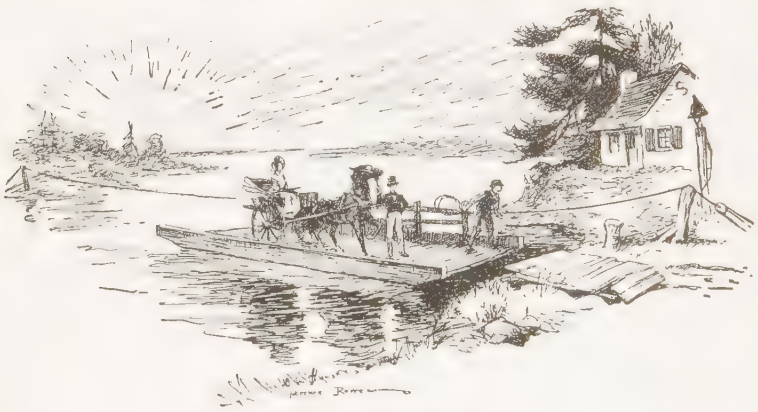
This map shows the importance France attributed to the Louisiana territory which lay between the Great Lakes and the Rio Grande, included the Ohio Valley, and extended northwestward without definite limit.

to the markets of the world, their prosperity depended upon its free use for navigation.

The regaining of Louisiana by Napoleon threatens the trade outlet of the Western settlers.

The commerce of the Northwest had been following this route until about 1800. By that time Napoleon, then the all-powerful ruler of France, was cherishing the dream that was once La Salle's (see page 88). He determined to secure Louisiana, which included all the country from the Mississippi to the Rockies between Texas and Canada, and to people it with French colonists. If these plans should carry and a new France in America should be revived, the American Union would be hemmed in between the Mississippi and the Atlantic.

By forcing Spain to cede Louisiana to France, Napoleon carried out the first part of his plan. He next sent an army to subdue the island of Santo Domingo, then in revolt against France, of which it was a colony, intending to use this island as a base for his operations in the Mississippi Valley. Unex-



A FERRY-BOAT OF THE EARLY DAYS.

pected opposition met this attempt. Toussaint L'Ouverture, a native black general, fought the French troops with desperate heroism. He was taken prisoner, but the defeat of the French was completed by yellow fever; and although thousands of soldiers were sacrificed the island was not subdued. The army intended for the support of the colonists in Louisiana never reached New Orleans, and, since France and England were again about to go to war, Napoleon was too much occupied with Europe to think further of colonizing America.

Indignant Westerners talk of war.

Americans in the Mississippi Valley were alarmed when it became known that Louisiana had again passed into the hands of France. Spain was a feeble, distant power; France would be a dangerous neighbor. Their alarm was increased when they learned that the authorities at New Orleans had refused to let the Western settlers float their products to that town and there reship them. Closing the Mississippi to their

THE UNITED STATES
IN 1803
After the Louisiana Purchase
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
LOUISIANA
PURCHASE
INDIANA TERRITORY
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
TERRITORY CLAIMED BY THE U.S. AND SPAIN
OREGON COUNTRY
Boundary not definitely settled
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
St Louis
New Orleans
Washington
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
OHIO
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
TROPIC OF CANCER
115° Longitude 110° 105 West 100 95 from 90° 85 Greenwich 80
E. E. FOATES CO., N.Y.

trade meant commercial ruin. Their indignation rose to a white heat. They talked loudly of war and urged Jefferson to get control of the island on which New Orleans stood and of the territory including the east bank of the river to its mouth, in order to assure them an outlet to the sea.

The United States purchases Louisiana (1803). Alert to the importance of the demand, President Jefferson sent a special envoy, James Monroe, over to France to aid the American minister, Robert R. Livingston, in his effort to secure the strip of land known as West Florida and also New Orleans. The time was opportune, for Napoleon needed money on account of war with England, and he feared that England, with her powerful navy, might gain control of Louisiana. He was willing to sell more territory than the envoys were instructed to buy. As a result we purchased from France in 1803, for $15,000,000, the immense Louisiana territory. This covered a larger area than the United States of that day included.[1]

Results of Jefferson's bold action. By this purchase Jefferson took greater liberties with the Constitution than the Federalists had ever taken. He realized that his action was directly contrary to the teachings of his party, but the purchase was so plainly in the interest of the people that he felt justified in making it. The transaction, which proved to be the greatest act of his administration, had four important results: (1) It kept France from becoming our political neighbor; (2) it prevented England from securing the territory by treaty with France; (3) it gave us control of the Mississippi River; (4) it added much to the strength of the national government.

It was a singular fate that Jefferson, the writer of the Kentucky resolutions, did that for which the Constitution made no express provision, a principle which he had so loudly decried. On the other hand, the Federalists, with equal inconsistency, declared the purchase to be unconstitutional, and many opposed the act because they held we already had territory enough. However, the great majority, especially in the West, warmly applauded Jefferson's action.

[1] Before 1803 the area of the United States was 827,844 square miles.

Jefferson sends Lewis and Clark through the new territory northwestward to the Pacific (1804–1806).

Even before the purchase of Louisiana, Jefferson had recommended to Congress that an exploring party be sent to the Pacific Ocean, and Congress had voted money for that purpose. Accordingly, a party of forty-three men under Lewis and Clark, known as Lewis and Clark's Expedition, started from St. Louis in 1804. They had instructions to ascend the Missouri River to its source and to find the nearest way to the Pacific coast; to draw maps of the region; to report on the nature of the country, the people, and the animals found; and to note other matters of interest in the new lands.

In the month of May they began their toilsome journey up the swift-flowing waters of the Missouri. Late in October they arrived at a village of Mandan Indians at the great bend of the Missouri, near the present site of Bismarck, the capital of North Dakota. As the season was so far advanced, they spent the winter there.

Indians give valuable assistance.

In the spring thirty-one of the men resumed the journey, sometimes rowing their boats and sometimes drawing them by tow-lines as they walked along the banks of the river. One of the party was an Indian squaw named Sacajawea[1] (meaning Bird Woman), the wife of a French interpreter who accompanied the explorers. Her services proved invaluable. All was new country before them, interesting and wild, but of such vast stretches that the second autumn had arrived before they reached the headwaters of the Missouri. Here they fell in with a party of

[1] Sacajawea was a beautiful young Indian woman who had spent her early days with her tribe, the Shoshones, in the Lemhi Valley of Idaho. When she was eleven years old she and another Indian girl were stolen by the Minnetarees, a tribe living near the Mandans. Four years later she was sold to Chaboneau, a Frenchman, who was making his home with the Minnetarees, and was now his wife. Although she carried her little papoose on her back, she took her place with the men at the oar or the tow-rope, as the explorers toiled up the muddy Missouri. When there was little food on hand, she knew where to find the wild onion and the artichoke that the prairie mice had stored up in their nests. But her best service was in guiding unerringly the white men over the rugged mountains to the region where she had lived as a young Shoshone girl. The Bird Woman was indeed the romantic figure of the expedition.

Shoshone Indians, among whom was an Indian chief who was the brother of the Bird Woman. Through her influence, therefore, these Indians became friendly and supplied the white men with horses and guides to continue their journey to the headwaters of the Columbia River.

The hardest task of the explorers lay yet before them. For nearly a month they made their way through the dense forests,

SACAJAWEA GUIDING THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION.

over steep rocks, and along dangerous cliffs, sometimes being compelled to cross torrents of ice-cold water. At last they reached a river flowing to the west, which they called Lewis. It proved to be a branch of the Columbia, flowing to the sea. The remainder of the journey was comparatively easy. Before the cold of the second winter set in, they reached the forests on the Pacific coast, where they stayed until spring. They suffered much from cold and hunger, but learned something about the habits of the Indians. After nearly two years and a half from the time of starting, the party returned with a most interesting account of their experiences and their discoveries. They had travelled at least seven thousand five hundred miles.

A second expedition, under Pike, is sent into the southwest (1806–1807).

Before Lewis and Clark returned, Congress sent out another explorer, Captain Zebulon Pike. With a small company of soldiers he was to explore the southwestern part of the Louisiana country. Starting on July 15, 1806, they travelled by boat along the Missouri and Osage Rivers and then by horse across what is now Kansas

to the Arkansas River, where they saw great herds of elk, deer, and buffalo. Late in September they fell in with a band of Pawnee Indians, who warned them that the Spaniards were planning to capture them. Captain Pike, however, would not turn back. Fearlessly pushing westward, one day in November he saw in the distance what appeared to be a white cloud in the sky. As he approached nearer, the cloud transformed itself into a beautiful snow-capped mountain, now known as Pike's Peak.

By the time the party had left this region for the south, winter was upon them. In the terrible march that followed they

suffered untold hardships. The cold was intense, at times freezing the feet of some of the men, and often, under their seventy pounds of baggage, they had to struggle through snow waist-deep. To make matters worse many times they had no food for forty-eight hours, for the buffaloes, upon which they had to depend, had gone for the winter into the mountains. Once Captain Pike and a few of his men who had left the main body to go on an expedition would have perished from starvation had they not by chance come upon a stray herd of buffaloes. Yet the explorers pushed on to the Rio Grande. They were then in Spanish territory and Pike was captured. He was taken to Santa Fé, New Mexico, but when the nature of his expedition became known, the Spaniards released him and he returned home.

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON CONGRATULATING LEWIS AND CLARK UPON THEIR RETURN.

After a painting by Richard E. Miller in the Missouri State Capitol.

The explorations of Lewis and Clark and of Pike were not only of vital interest because they gave the American people knowledge of the vast extent and great wealth of the Louisiana Purchase but also of great practical value because they opened the way for American fur-traders, trappers, and settlers, and strengthened our claims years later to the Oregon country.

Fulton's steamboat leads to marvellous advance in navigation.

While these expeditions in the Far West were opening up new lands for occupation, an invention that was to increase population in the new settlements was being completed in the East. This was the application of steam as a motive power to boats. It was in the year 1807 that Robert Fulton, after many trials and difficulties, succeeded with his steamboat. It was called the *Clermont*, and

was a clumsy affair that people ridiculed as "Fulton's Folly." Little did they think that it was the forerunner of a marvellous procession of steam-driven craft.[1]

On the day set for its trial trip from New York a large crowd gathered on the riverside, expecting to see a failure. When the

THE "CLERMONT," AS REPRODUCED FOR THE HUDSON-FULTON CELEBRATION, 1909.

boat slowly moved off they began to jeer, but when its success was no longer in doubt they were equally cordial in their applause. The *Clermont* steamed up the Hudson from New York to Albany, one hundred and fifty miles, at the rate of five miles an hour. At once the boat became an object of unrivalled curiosity which people came many miles to see. Afterward it made regular trips between New York and Albany.

[1] Many men had tried to work out such an invention. Among them were James Rumsey, of Maryland, who built a steamboat in 1774, and John Fitch, of Connecticut, who completed his first model of a steamboat in 1785. In the next four years Fitch built three steamboats, the last of which made regular trips on the Delaware River between Philadelphia and Burlington during the summer of 1790. But Fitch was not able to secure enough aid from men of capital and influence to make his boat permanently successful.

Use of steamboats gives great impetus to trade and settlement.

Four years later, in 1811, the first steamboat on a Western river was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburg. As this strange-looking boat passed down the river at a speed then regarded as wonderful, the people on the banks were overcome with fear and awe. The flying sparks, especially at night, and the noise of the wheels made the more ignorant onlookers believe the end of the world was at hand. This boat was followed by others, and the great network of rivers was soon covered with steam-driven craft, defying wind and current. The steamboat marked a definite advance over the flatboat. Settlers could now more easily reach the fertile land in the great valley, and could exchange their produce more profitably in the markets of the East. A fresh impulse was thereby given to Western migration, and many new settlements sprang up.

THE SAFETY BARGE INTRODUCED IN 1825 ON THE HUDSON RIVER.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

THE VILLAGE LANDING.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. How did Jefferson show his republican simplicity? Compare his ideas of formality with those of Washington. Did Washington's formality make him any less a champion of sound republican principles? Why would the Federalists naturally favor formality and ceremony on the part of the President?
2. Imagine yourself living in the backwoods of Kentucky and Tennessee in pioneer days, and write a letter to a friend about the houses, furniture, dress, food, amusements, or schools of the people.
3. What advantages had the flatboat over the pack-horse? With your map before you, outline the roundabout trip that the Western settler made in trading with New Orleans. Suppose he went from New Orleans to Philadelphia, or Baltimore, how would he return home?
4. Napoleon is one of the most interesting men in all history. Look up some facts about his life and character.
5. What was Napoleon's scheme to plant colonies in the Mississippi Valley? In this connection review La Salle's work. In what respect was La Salle like Napoleon?
6. Why did the cession of Louisiana to France by Spain alarm the people of the United States?
7. What steps did Jefferson take which finally led to the purchase of Louisiana? Why did it seem strange for Jefferson, with his view of the Constitution, to make this purchase? Explain why he did it. Jefferson put everything he did to the test of whether it was in conformity with the general will as he interpreted it.
8. Do not fail to get a clear idea of the extent of the territory that was included in the Louisiana Purchase. How many states of the size of your own did its area equal?
9. By use of the map travel with Lewis and Clark on their expedition. Tell some of the most interesting facts of their experience: where they met Sacajawea and the value of her services; how they crossed the Rocky Mountains and finally reached the Pacific. Of what advantage was this expedition to the American people?
10. How did the steamboat aid trade conditions west of the Alleghanies? Of what advantage was it over the sailing-vessel on the ocean?
11. Find out all you can about the difficulties between Burr and Hamilton. Compare the two men in character and in public service.
12. In connection with the study of Aaron Burr, read Hale's "The Man Without a Country." The chapter in Shaler's "History of the United States," vol. I, on the Mississippi Valley, is worth careful reading.

NOTES

Alexander Hamilton.—Hamilton withdrew from public service at the age of thirty-eight to practise law. The great Frenchman Talleyrand, visiting Amer-

ica at that time, passed Hamilton's home at midnight, and, seeing the light still burning in his study, made this remark: "I have seen the eighth wonder of the world. I have seen a man laboring at midnight for the support of his family, who has made the fortune of a nation."

Burr's Conspiracy.—With the rapid development of the West is associated a political scheme known as "Burr's Conspiracy." Aaron Burr, the author of it, was a brilliant but unscrupulous man, who killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel. Having failed to satisfy his political ambition in the East, Burr got together soldiers and adventurers from the Western states, and sailed down the Ohio and the Mississippi to carry out some undertaking even yet not fully understood. It is thought that his plan was to establish a personal government in the Southwest, possibly including the Spanish possessions in Mexico. In due time he was taken and tried for treason, but was acquitted for lack of evidence.

Readings for the Teacher and the Pupil: Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, 100–124; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, chaps. III–V; Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 131–141; Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration*, 92–108; Gordy, *Stories of Later American History*, 368–384; Walker, *The Making of the Nation*, chaps. IX, X; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 135–158; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton;* Morse, *Thomas Jefferson;* Knox, *Life of Robert Fulton.*

Fiction and Oratory: Hale, *Philip Nolan's Friends;* Hale, *The Man Without a Country;* Churchill, *The Crossing;* Josiah Quincy, *On the Admission of Louisiana.*

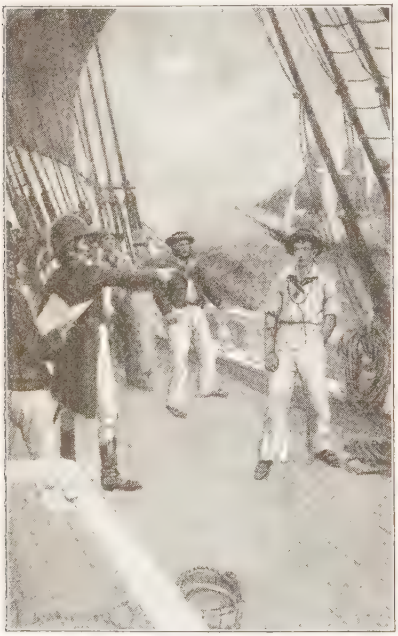
D. The War of 1812: A War for Commercial Independence

Great Britain claims the right to search American vessels for British subjects.

While the nation was making rapid conquest of the land, there was much to offend its pride on the seas. Great Britain continued to search our vessels and to impress American seamen into her service. She claimed that British seamen, having once been British subjects, always remained such; or, as the saying ran: "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman."[1] On the other hand, our government claimed that a foreign-born subject could become an American by being naturalized. Doubtless there was cause for irritation on both sides. It is true that many British seamen, on reaching American ports, procured fraudulent naturalization papers and entered the American service, because better treatment and higher pay were received on American vessels. As a result a British captain, after reaching port and visiting the town, often had no crew with which to put to sea again.

[1] A similar practice prevailed at that time in all European countries.

The commanders of British war-ships, therefore, insisted upon searching our vessels and taking off seamen, on the charge that they were deserters. British cruisers hovered about the more important American ports, and in their search for deserters boarded every vessel entering or leaving the harbor. Before the War of 1812 began, 900 American vessels had been searched, and more than 4,000 Americans had been impressed into the British service.



BRITISH OFFICERS ARRESTING SAILORS ON AN AMERICAN SHIP.

After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

This practice reached its most irritating stage in the attack made on the frigate *Chesapeake* by the British man-of-war *Leopard*, off the coast of Virginia. The British captain made a demand for some British deserters who, he claimed, were on the American frigate. When the American commander protested, the *Leopard* fired a broadside, killing or wounding twenty-one of the American crew. The *Chesapeake*, not being in a condition to make resistance, surrendered. She was boarded and four of her crew were arrested as deserters and taken on board the *Leopard*. Three of these afterward proved to be Americans and were released. The people were deeply offended, and in some quarters there was a clamor for war. As the country was not prepared at that time for open hostilities, Jefferson went no further than to enter a protest, and warned British men-of-war to leave American waters. In return, the British Government made a half-hearted apology, although it declared its purpose to continue the impressment of seamen.

Great Britain and France greatly injure American commerce (1806–1807).

There were other grievances at sea. Great Britain and France, being at war, tried to starve each other into submission. Each country, in its efforts to injure the trade of the other, seriously crippled American commerce. During the early years of the war our vessels had done much of the carrying trade of the world, and our merchants had been growing rich. However, in 1806[1] and 1807 England issued "Orders in Council," which forbade neutral vessels to trade with France or her allies. Napoleon retaliated by issuing "Decrees," which declared that all neutral trade with England should cease. As almost all American commerce was with Great Britain, France, and their respective allies, these restrictions threatened it with ruin. If an American vessel was bound for an English port, she was liable to seizure by the French. If she risked a voyage to a French or other continental port, she might be seized by a British man-of-war. Thus our merchantmen were between two fires and were pretty certain not to escape both.

Jefferson's peace policy and Embargo Act lead to disastrous commercial results.

To make matters worse, the situation was not handled wisely. With all his greatness, Jefferson was not the type of executive that can best deal with foreign affairs when they demand aggressive and vigorous treatment. He abhorred war,[2] believing that the same results could be accomplished by peaceful means. He thought that by depriving England and France of our trade he could force them to a reasonable and just treatment of the United States. As an expression of his peace policy, he secured the passage of the Embargo Act (December, 1807). This prohibited American vessels from leaving their harbors for

[1] "Orders in Council," issued in England in 1806, declared that all the ports between Brest and the Elbe were in a state of blockade. In 1807 a similar order declared all ports blockaded from which the British flag was excluded, and forbade all vessels to trade with France or any of her allies.

[2] Lover of peace though he was, Jefferson had sent over war-vessels a few years before this time to punish the Barbary pirates in Northern Africa for seriously disturbing American commerce in the Mediterranean. The punishment was so severe that the pirates were forced to stop making attacks upon our vessels.

foreign ports and foreign vessels from taking cargoes out of American ports.

It soon became evident to all that France and England could do without our trade much better than we could do without theirs. Our ships rotted at the wharfs. Our commerce was destroyed. New York and New England especially suffered, and business distress became acute. A few hot-headed men in the Eastern States suggested withdrawing from the Union.[1] The farmers and planters, also, met with very heavy losses because they could not export their produce. Many of the Virginia planters, whose principal source of wealth was tobacco, were almost ruined.

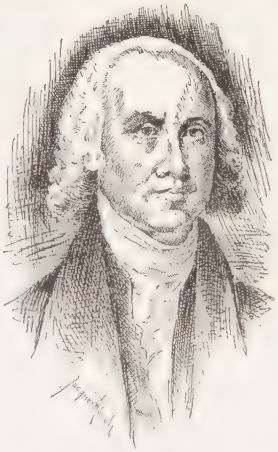
The embargo is repealed. Dissatisfaction became so bitter that after a trial of fourteen months Jefferson finally consented to the repeal of the embargo. The Non-intercourse Act (1809),[2] prohibiting trade with England and France but allowing open trade with the rest of the world, took its place.

Tecumseh's conspiracy and defeat (1811). The lifting of the embargo eased the business situation, but in the West troubles were brewing with the Indians. The outbreaks were charged to the account of British traders from Canada, but it was really the rapid settlement of lands north of the Ohio that made the Indians of that region dissatisfied and restless. Tecumseh, an able Indian chief, had united the Southern and Northwestern Indians in a great con-

[1] When New England commerce was ruined, the merchants of that part of the country invested their money in manufacturing, about which we shall learn more later.

[2] By act of Congress the embargo was removed on March 4, the day when Jefferson's term of office expired and Madison succeeded him as President. James Madison, fourth President of the United States (1809–1817), was born in King George County, Virginia, in 1751, and died in 1836. After he was graduated from Princeton, at twenty-one years of age, he studied law. Few men of his time did so much to bring about the federal convention of 1787. He was one of the ablest advocates of the Constitution, and was the author of many of its fundamental features. He was associated with Hamilton and Jay in writing the very able papers that appeared in *The Federalist*. After being Jefferson's secretary of state he was elected President. Like Jefferson, Madison was a man of scholarly attainments and constructive statesmanship, but was not adapted to the pressing emergencies that must be met by the President of the United States in time of war.

spiracy to drive the white settlers back from the frontier and beyond the Ohio River, making that a permanent boundary between the red and the white race. To defeat this plan William H. Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, led a body of troops against the Indians. A battle was fought on Tippecanoe River, in which the Indians were so badly beaten that their power between the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers was broken forever. In the following year Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, won a decisive victory over the powerful and turbulent Creek Indians occupying the land now included in Georgia and Alabama. Thus were the Indian uprisings north and south of the Ohio successfully put down.



JAMES MADISON.

Causes of the War of 1812. But the troubles with England over commerce and the impressment of American seamen continued, and the two countries were driven farther and farther apart. To improve the situation, Congress was willing to repeal the Non-intercourse Act (May, 1810), provided France and England would revoke their decrees against American commerce.

Napoleon, who had little regard for truth when it stood in the way of his ambition, then played a trick upon our government, hoping to bring on war between the United States and England. He agreed to revoke his decrees, but at the same time sent secret orders to the French Admiralty to continue seizing our vessels. When this promise was received from the French emperor, a similar one was requested from England. She, however, refused, because she knew that Napoleon was not acting in good faith. For a time American vessels were allowed to enter French ports without being seized, but when a considerable number were within reach the French confiscated them and their cargoes.

England believed that America was favoring France, and in-

creased her vigilance. Her war-ships lay in wait along the entire eastern coast of the United States and captured many of our merchantmen. Resentment toward England increased. Although the United States had as much ground for war with the one country as with the other, we were too weak to go

THE "CONSTITUTION" ESCAPING FROM A BRITISH SQUADRON, IN A LIGHT BREEZE, TOWED BY HER BOATS, JULY, 1812.

After a painting by Carlton T. Chapman.

to war with both, and the Democratic-Republican party, then in power, which had always sympathized with France, chose war with England.

Disposition of certain political leaders toward England leads to declaration of war.

The Federalist party included most of the commercial classes and the wealthy business men of our country. They were strong in New England, and being closely allied in trade with England, they were against the war. They believed it was needless and wicked. They asserted that in making war the United States was really strengthening Napoleon in his ambitious plans in Europe. On the other hand, the Democratic-Repub-

licans were largely made up of the agricultural classes in the South and West. The rising young leaders, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, who were among those called "War Hawks," believed that war with England would result in the speedy conquest of Canada, and, as we shall see, the attempt to conquer Canada was made later. Although New England hotly opposed the war against England, it was declared on June 18, 1812.

Comparison of American and British armies and navies.

The United States was far from being prepared for war. Jefferson's twofold policy had been economy at home and peace abroad. He had been so intent upon paying off the national debt that he had used all his influence against building a strong navy, and he was equally opposed to a large army. In 1812 the regular army numbered less than 7,000 men.

On the other hand, Great Britain had a large army which had received most thorough training in the wars with Napoleon, and her navy contained about 1,000 vessels, many of them of the largest and most powerful class. It was greater than the combined navies of the rest of the world. The United States navy contained only 12 warvessels, none of them large, but all well built and the best of their class. There was small hope that this little navy could match the "Mistress of the Seas," but when war was declared the American vessels gallantly started out in search of the enemy

THE BURNING OF AN AMERICAN PRIVATEER BRIG.

After a painting by Henry Reuterdahl.

The "Constitution" defeats the "Guerrière" (1812).

The first sea-fight of importance was between the *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, and the English man-of-war *Guerrière*, which were thought to be about equal in fighting strength. The engagement took place off the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Within a half-hour the Americans

OVERLAND TRAFFIC DURING THE BLOCKADE.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

thoroughly disabled the British vessel, so that she had to be destroyed where she lay. The *Constitution* was practically unharmed. By reason of this and later victories, the people afterward proudly named the *Constitution* "Old Ironsides."

In spite of our success in individual naval encounters, the British are able to blockade our coast.

Other brilliant successes by Captains Decatur, Lawrence, and Bainbridge followed in quick succession. In about six months of fighting in the War of 1812 Great Britain lost every one of the six vessels that fought with the Americans. Europe was amazed; England was chagrined; and Americans were carried away with enthusiasm. The victories were due to better seamanship, more accurate gunnery, and the superior construction of American vessels.

Our navy, however, was so small that it could not prevent the British from blockading our coast. As a consequence, during the last half of the war, the larger American vessels could not engage in fighting. But American privateers inflicted great loss on British commerce, and during the war captured about 2,500 British merchant vessels.

Americans are defeated in the Northwest (1812–1813).

Although we won many victories on the sea, we were not at first successful on land. Inasmuch as one of the leading military aims of the United States was to conquer Canada, General William Hull, who was stationed at Detroit, was sent across the border, but he was soon forced back and compelled to surrender (August 16, 1812). Some months later General Harrison was sent to drive the British troops out of Detroit, and his advance force was obliged to surrender at the River Raisin.

CAPTAIN OLIVER H. PERRY.

Perry wins a brilliant victory on Lake Erie.

Before the English could come into effective control of the Northwest, however, it was necessary for them to command Lake Erie. To prevent this, Captain Oliver H. Perry, a naval officer twenty-eight years old, was sent to oppose them. His instructions included a command to build and man a fleet. With remarkable energy and perseverance he cut down trees, constructed vessels of green timber, and got together men whom he trained as sailors. Some of the best of these were Rhode Island seamen and Kentucky riflemen.

On September 10, 1813, the British fleet, commanded by a veteran officer, Captain Barclay, was sighted. There was little difference in the strength of the two fleets, for while the enemy's vessels were larger, their guns were smaller. The action was swift. By concentrating their fire upon Perry's flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, the British completely disabled her. Only Perry

and eight of the men were left unharmed. Boldly he entered a rowboat and, standing up, flag in hand, was rowed straight for the *Niagara*, another vessel of his fleet. Although the British directed their fire upon the little boat, Perry reached

PERRY TRANSFERRING HIS COLORS TO THE "NIAGARA."

the *Niagara* without injury. There he renewed the battle with great vigor, and in fifteen minutes compelled the English captain to strike colors.

This was the first time in history that an entire English fleet had been captured. It was a brilliant victory, won by the superior fighting ability of the American commander and his men. Taking from his pocket an old letter, Perry wrote on the back of it his famous despatch to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours." General Harrison at once attacked and recaptured Detroit, drove the British across the river into Canada and won a complete victory over them at the Thames River (October 5, 1813). These victories put the Americans in entire control of Lake Erie and the adjacent region in the Northwest.

The British make a threefold attack in 1814.

In the Northwest neither side had made a decisive gain when invading the other's territory. The same was equally true of the fighting farther east, where the Americans failed at Niagara River and the English at Fort Erie. But in 1814, Napoleon having been defeated in Europe, England could release more seamen and soldiers for the war in the United States. Accordingly, she decided upon a threefold campaign: to invade American territory along the old Burgoyne route, to make attacks along the Atlantic coast, and to enter the Mississippi River on the south for the capture of New Orleans.

McDonough is victorious on Lake Champlain.

To ward off attack from the north the Americans had a squadron under Commodore McDonough on Lake Champlain, and a land force at Plattsburg on the lake shore. The British also had a fleet on the lake and an army on land. Although the British fleet was stronger in men and in guns, McDonough won a splendid victory and captured all the larger British vessels. As soon as the news of the battle reached the British land forces, they retreated.

The British capture Washington but fail at Baltimore.

In August (1814) a British fleet had sailed into the Chesapeake Bay and landed an army which marched against Washington. When within six or seven miles from the city they met and easily defeated a body of American troops composed largely of untrained and ill-supplied militia, and, marching into Washington, they almost captured President Madison himself. They destroyed the Capitol and other government buildings, but at Baltimore were repulsed by the Americans, with the loss of their commander, General Ross.[1]

[1] When the British were marching against Washington they seized and carried off a friend of Francis S. Key. As soon as Key heard of the capture he took steps to secure the release of the prisoner. President Madison gave assistance by ordering that a vessel be placed at the disposal of Key. General Ross consented to the release of Key's friend, but insisted that Key should be detained until after the attack upon Baltimore. During the night of attack, Key could see by the glare of the firing guns the national flag waving over Fort McHenry. But toward morning, when the firing ceased, he was in an agony of suspense to learn whether or not our flag yet floated in triumph over the fort. After finding that the flag was still there, he gave expression to his deep feeling in *The Star-Spangled Banner*, a part of which he hastily wrote on the back of a letter.

The British are badly defeated at New Orleans.

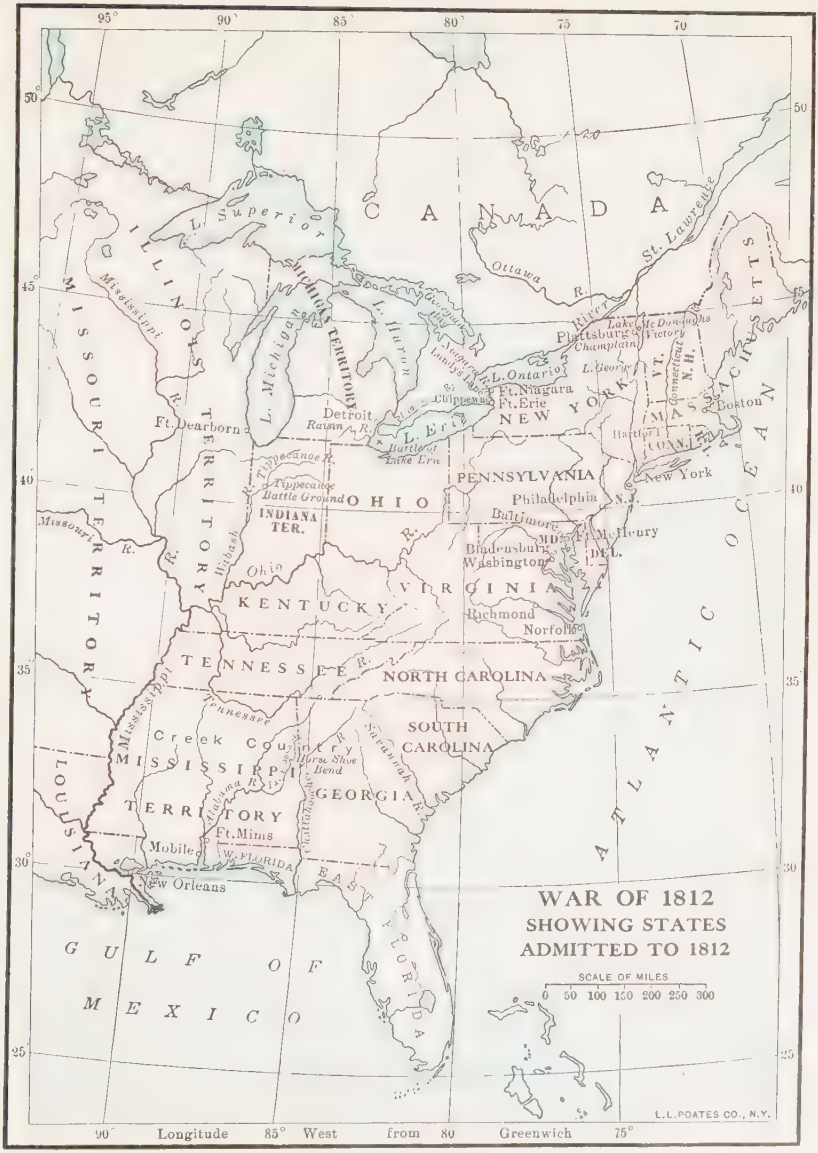
In their campaign to get possession of New Orleans, so as to control the trade of the Mississippi after the war, the British sent to that port 12,000 veteran troops. To meet this formidable army, Andrew Jackson was put in command of the Americans. With an army hastily assembled, and only half the size of the enemy's, he posted his forces behind fortifications and awaited the assault (January 8, 1815). Gallantly the British veterans advanced, but American guns mowed them down by hundreds. In twenty-five minutes they had lost their commander, General Edward Pakenham, and 2,600 men. The Americans lost only twenty-one men.

This was an exciting victory for the Americans, but a distressing fact that became known later was that this terrible loss of life was unnecessary, for the battle was fought two weeks after the treaty of peace had been agreed upon at Ghent (December 24, 1814). Communication in those days was so slow that the news of Jackson's victory (January 8, 1815) did not reach Washington until February 4, and news of the treaty of peace came a week later. The battle, therefore, did not in any way affect the treaty.

The moral effect, however, was beyond measure, for while our navy had made a brilliant record, the forces fighting on land had met with many humiliating setbacks. Again, as in the Revolutionary War, the army consisted largely of state militia with brief terms of service. Out of 500,000 different men who enlisted during the war, only 1 in 10, or 50,000, were regular soldiers, so that most of the fighting was done by short-service men, whose limited training put them at a serious disadvantage when matched against British regulars.

The Federalists in New England express dissatisfaction with the war in the Hartford Convention.

From the outset New England Federalists had been much opposed to the war. As it progressed, their opposition became bitter, for the government did not protect the New England coast from British attacks, and the commerce of that section was almost ruined. There was much business distress. New England had bravely done its part in carrying on


WAR OF 1812
SHOWING STATES
ADMITTED TO 1812
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
CANADA
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence
Ottawa R.
Mississippi R.
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI TERRITORY
INDIANA TER.
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
VT.
N.H.
MASSACHUSETTS
Boston
Hartford (CONN.)
New York
N.J.
Philadelphia
Baltimore
MD.
DEL.
Washington
Bladensburg
Ft. Dearborn
Detroit
Raisin R.
Battle of Lake Erie
Tippecanoe R.
Tippecanoe Battle Ground
Wabash R.
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
TENNESSEE R.
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Tennessee R.
Creek Country
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
Alabama R.
Horse Shoe Bend
GEORGIA
Savannah R.
Chattahoochee R.
Ft. Mims
Mobile
W. FLORIDA
New Orleans
LOUISIANA
EAST FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Lake Champlain
Plattsburg
Ft. Niagara
Ft. Erie
Chippewa
Lundy's Lane
Lake George
Lake Memphremagog
Connecticut R.
Victory
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.L. POATES CO., N.Y.

the war; but the Federalists in that section had no confidence in President Madison and his government. At length they called together a convention which met in Hartford in December, 1814.

This body took a bold and dangerous step toward the dissolution of the Union by recommending that the proceeds of the national taxes collected in each New England state should be reserved by it to pay troops for its own defense. The recommendation was extremely unwise. It sounded much like the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and shows that the spirit of state rights was by no means confined to the South. The Hartford Convention was politically a great blunder. It killed the Federalist party.

OLD STATE HOUSE, HARTFORD, WHERE CONVENTION MET.

A treaty with no mention of objects fought for.

The treaty of peace was agreed upon December 24, 1814. No mention was made of impressment of seamen and the unjust interference with our commerce by the English navy, but the war put a stop to both evils. It had, in addition, three results: (1) It showed the superiority of American seamanship; (2) it gave the United States a position of respect and honor among the nations of the world; (3) it led the Americans, who had been for so many years practically cut off from the manufactured goods of Europe, to build mills and factories for themselves and thus become more independent of European manufactures than ever before. This war has well been called the Second War of Independence, for, while in the Revolution Americans won political independence of England, by the War of 1812 they secured commercial independence of Europe. Our people now had a feeling of strength as a nation that they had never had before.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. How did England and France injure American commerce? What was Jefferson's purpose in securing the passage of the Embargo Act? How did it affect American commerce? Why was it repealed?
2. James Madison, our fourth President, was inaugurated March 4, 1809, and served two terms, 1809–1817. Do you think he was a great President? Name the three preceding Presidents.
3. What led to Tecumseh's conspiracy? What were the results of the battle of Tippecanoe on our claims to the Northwest Territory?
4. How did Napoleon's trick increase trouble with England? Why did the Federalists oppose war with England? What do you think of their attitude?
5. Subject for debate: Resolved, That in 1812 we should have gone to war with both France and England.
6. Why had we so small a navy in 1812? Compare it with the English navy at that time. How great was the success of the American navy in the first six months of the war? How do you account for it?
7. What led to the battle of Lake Erie? Imagine yourself with Perry during the battle, and write to a friend, giving an account of your experiences, including the results of the victory.
8. What was the significance of McDonough's victory? Of the capture and burning of the Capitol? What was the object of the British in trying to capture New Orleans? Give the results of the battle.
9. Consider this statement with reference to the War of 1812: "In individual exploits the Americans were highly successful; in general campaigns they failed." Make a list of our successes and failures, study it, and then discuss the statement.
10. Why were the New England Federalists bitterly opposed to the embargo? How was their dissatisfaction increased during the war? What recommendation did the Hartford Convention make? Compare this with the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799. You observe that even in 1814 true national feeling was not strong and deep in the United States. Name three results of the war.
11. Learn the story of The Star-Spangled Banner's origin and memorize the poem. Read Drake's "The American Flag" and Holmes's "Old Ironsides." Great American naval traditions sprang from the deeds of our seamen during this war. Recount as many as you can.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, chaps. VI, VII; Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 142–231; Gay, *James Madison*; Spears, *History of the Navy*, II, chaps. XIII, XIV; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 313–338; Walker, *The Making of the Nation*, chap. XII; Seawell, *Twelve Naval Captains;* Powell, *Some Forgotten Heroes.*

FICTION AND POETRY: Key, *The Star-Spangled Banner;* Drake, *The American Flag*, Holmes, *Old Ironsides*; Eggleston, *Second Boy*, *Captain Sam*, *Big Brother*; Cooper's *Wing and Wing;* Seawell, *Little Jarvis.*

CHAPTER X

NATIONALITY GROWS AND WE BECOME THE CHAMPION FOR AMERICAN REPUBLICS AGAINST EUROPEAN EXPLOITATION (1815-1829)

The period upon which we now enter was one of tremendous development. When our young republic began its career in 1789 the various states of which it was made up were still suspicious of one another. They were lacking in the spirit of union, and had not yet learned the ways of friendly and whole-hearted co-operation. They had to pass through trials and perils that threatened their existence as a self-respecting, self-reliant nation before they could realize fully the necessity of pulling together in their dealings with other nations. By the close of the War of 1812, however, they had come to feel, as never before, that they were one people.

The years following the war were marked by a national consciousness which became continuously deeper and broader, especially with the growth of population westward across the Alleghanies and with internal improvements. The period from 1815 to 1829 was one of adjustment to new conditions by the young republic, no longer dependent upon Europe. Means of transportation were revolutionized, machine industry in the factory took the place of hand industry in the household and the small shop; the expansion of the cotton-growing area inland from the coastal region along the Atlantic gave new impetus to slavery; the United States strengthened her hold upon the Gulf of Mexico by acquiring Florida; she recognized the independence of the Spanish-American colonies that had risen in revolt against Spain; and she boldly asserted her leadership among the countries of the western world by issuing the Monroe Doctrine. Between 1815 and 1829 a real nation, conscious of its strength and definite in its purpose, took its stand as an equal with the other nations of the world.

The Monroe Doctrine[1] proclaimed in behalf of the Spanish-American republics (1823).

Having watched the United States win independence from England and then become strong and prosperous, Mexico and the other Spanish colonies in America rose in revolt against Spain.[2] One after another they declared their independence and set up republics of their own. When the Napoleonic wars were over, Spain sought to recover her colonies in America. Unwilling to lose them, and being unable herself to enforce authority, she looked to the "Holy Alliance" for aid in regaining her former possessions. This alliance, formed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, after the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, was political, its purpose being to prevent the people of any European monarchy from overthrowing their government, as the French people had done during the French Revolution. Moreover, the Czar of Russia was reaching out to claim a large section of the Pacific coast, including part of the Oregon country. From the American point of view, if the great European powers should begin to interfere with the countries of

JAMES MONROE.

[1] James Monroe, fifth President of the United States (1817–1825), was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1758, and died in 1831. Soon after his student life began at the College of William and Mary, he was called away to active service in the Revolution. He fought bravely at Trenton, the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. He filled many high stations in his country's service, not only at home, where he was a member of the Continental Congress and later of the Senate under the Constitution, but abroad, where he was minister to France, England, and Spain. After being secretary of state under Madison, he was elected President. In all his public service he proved himself a patriotic and upright citizen.

[2] By referring to the map between pages 176 and 177, you will see that at the close of the Revolution all of the land now belonging to the United States which lies between the Mississippi and the Pacific—with the exception of the Oregon country—belonged to Spain. Besides this vast territory, Spain owned Mexico and a very large part of Central and South America. But by 1823 she had lost all her great colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere except Cuba and Porto Rico.

America, they might obtain a foothold here and threaten the future of the United States.

Our government decides to act alone.

England at that time was friendly to us. Several months before the Monroe Doctrine was announced George Canning, the English minister of foreign affairs, had proposed that the United States and Great Britain should unite in a declaration that they would work together to oppose any plan of Spain and the Holy Alliance to interfere with the independence of the Latin-American states. But our government preferred to act alone.[1] The experience of twenty-five years of struggle with England and France had taught us the wisdom of keeping ourselves free from European alliances, and of conducting our national affairs apart from intervention by any foreign powers.

Main features of the Monroe Doctrine.

Therefore, President Monroe, in a message to Congress, declared (1) that we would take no part in European wars; (2) that we would not interfere with any European colonies already established in America; (3) but that any attempt on the part of a European nation to interfere with the independence of any country in North or South America would be regarded as an unfriendly act. This statement of our position has since become known as the "Monroe Doctrine."

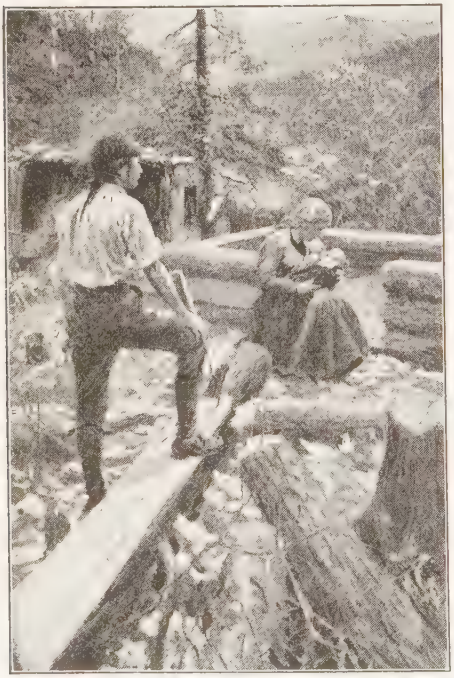
This was a vigorous position to take, but the valor and heroism of our fighting on land and sea, and the brilliant victories already achieved, had won the respect of Europe. The Holy Alliance, therefore, wisely refrained from meddling with American affairs; a precedent was established; and the Monroe Doctrine has ever since been the settled policy of the United States.

Purchase of Florida results from Jackson's expedition there.

Before the various Spanish-American colonies had secured their independence Spain had ceded to us her control of Florida, which, at the close of the Revolution, had passed into her hands. During the War of 1812 the

[1] We find a similar sentiment expressed in Washington's Farewell Address, from which the following is quoted: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . . It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

Spaniards, in sympathy with the English, had allowed them to build forts in Florida and to arm the friendly Seminole Indians. This embittered the Southern states, which already had a grievance against the Spaniards, because many slaves, escaping from Georgia and Alabama, had fled into the swamps and morasses of Florida, and had found protection among the Seminole Indians, with whom they intermarried and lived. This situation continued for several years after the war. The slave-owners often followed in search of their slaves, and carried on a kind of border warfare. As Spain did not set matters right General Andrew Jackson was sent down (1817) with a body of troops to arrange a settlement. Jackson acted with his usual energy and decision. Without parley he hanged two Indian chiefs and two Englishmen whom he accused of inciting the Seminoles. He captured Pensacola and established a garrison there. These exploits were acts of war against Spain, but settlement was effected by our arranging for the transfer of Florida.[1] The purchase was made in 1819 for $5,000,000. The territory was more than twelve times the size of Connecticut.[2]



PIONEERS.
Building a home in the wilderness.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

[1] When we made this purchase, Spain agreed to give up all her claims to the Oregon country, while we agreed to give up our claim to what was later called Texas. Before this time we had regarded this territory as a part of the Louisiana Purchase.

[2] The area of Connecticut, being approximately 5,000 square miles, makes a very convenient unit of measurement. It will hereafter be so used in many cases.

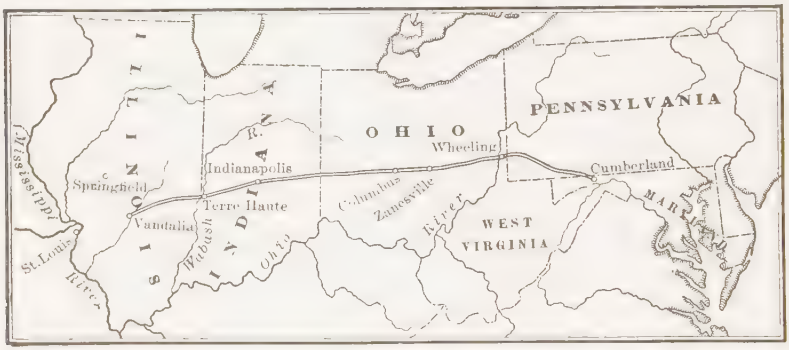
Two obstacles to westward migration. The Monroe Doctrine had practically settled the foreign policy of the United States. Now a question of domestic policy gave great concern. The problem was how to provide transportation facilities between the East and the West. From early colonial times there had been two obstacles to westward migration, the Indians and the natural barriers of forests and mountains. By the overthrow of Tecumseh's conspiracy in the Northwest and of the Creeks in the Southwest, the power of the Indians east of the Mississippi River had been broken. The defeat of Tecumseh opened to settlers vast stretches of rich land in Indiana and Illinois, while the defeat of the Creeks made it easy for Southern planters to move with their slaves into the extensive regions of fertile cotton-land in Alabama and Mississippi. Westward migration was made all the more attractive by the cheapness of the new land. Until 1820 it could be bought by the pioneer for $2.00 an acre, and after that for a time the price was further reduced to $1.25 an acre.

Why westward migration steadily increases. Beginning with 1815 the stream of migration from the East to the West steadily increased. Thousands of men were ready to go into the Western lands, where they could begin life anew by buying a farm at a low cost. The embargo and the War of 1812 had played such havoc with trade and industry that large numbers of men in all the seaboard states had been thrown out of work. Many others who were prosperous in the East were moved by the hope of becoming more prosperous in the West. Besides, there were those from across the sea who came to escape the high taxes and low wages which followed the long and destructive wars with Napoleon. Immigrants from European countries flocked to the United States, drawn by the great promise of the Western lands.

The Western movement noticeably affected the states along the seaboard. By 1817 their population had been much reduced. Some towns and cities had ceased to grow; others grew but slightly; and still others were almost deserted. Had it not been for immigration from Europe the loss in population would have been even more noticeable.

The National Road is a great stimulus to westward movement.

This westward movement was greatly aided by the steamboat, but the steamboat was of use only on the rivers and lakes, and there were wide stretches of country through which navigable rivers did not flow. In the early days only a path through the woods had been needed



THE NATIONAL ROAD.

for the pack-horse, but the increasing flow of emigrants called for a suitable highway to connect the East and the West. Hence the "National Road," beginning on the banks of the Potomac at Cumberland, Maryland, was undertaken at national expense. It was eighty feet wide and was paved with stone and covered with gravel. The first contract was let in 1811. By 1820 the road had been extended over the mountains to Wheeling, where it connected with steamboats on the Ohio. The original purpose was to build the road to the Mississippi. But progress was so slow that by the time it reached Vandalia, Illinois (1838), the coming of the railroad made its farther extension unnecessary. Yet it helped much in stimulating migration and westward growth. For its construction and repair Congress spent nearly $7,000,000.

"Westward Ho!" in 1817.

"Old America seems to be breaking up and moving westward," wrote a traveller as he passed along the National Road in 1817 and noted the unceasing stream of people going west. All sorts

and conditions made up the throngs. Some travelled in wagons drawn by two horses or a yoke of oxen, some in carts drawn by a single horse; in all cases the wagon or cart was loaded with bedding, cooking utensils, and food, the mother and younger children being stowed among the goods. Sometimes a pack-horse carried the family goods, and again the husband himself

SETTLERS FROM CONNECTICUT ON THEIR WAY WEST.
After a painting by Howard Pyle.

bore the burden on his back, while the barefooted wife trudged by his side. Hundreds and even thousands travelled on foot, some driving herds of cattle and others arriving in their new home with nothing but a little bedding and the clothing which they wore. All carried some provisions with them; some they bought at the small settlements they passed on the way; and some they provided by hunting and fishing as they went along. They cooked their meals by the roadside, and at night slept under the starlit sky, or the low-branching trees, or, if need be, crept under the shelter of their wagons.

Pioneers having led the way, freight soon followed in wagons, and contracts for mail were made by the United States Government with stage companies just as now with railroad companies.

The coaches of the Great Eastern Mail ran daily and travelled from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles a day.

The Erie Canal also facilitates westward development (1817–1825).[1]

The growth of population in the rapidly formed new states soon demanded a better means of travel and communication between the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi Valley than the National Road alone could supply. Moreover, transportation overland, by means of wagons and draft animals, was too slow and expensive.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

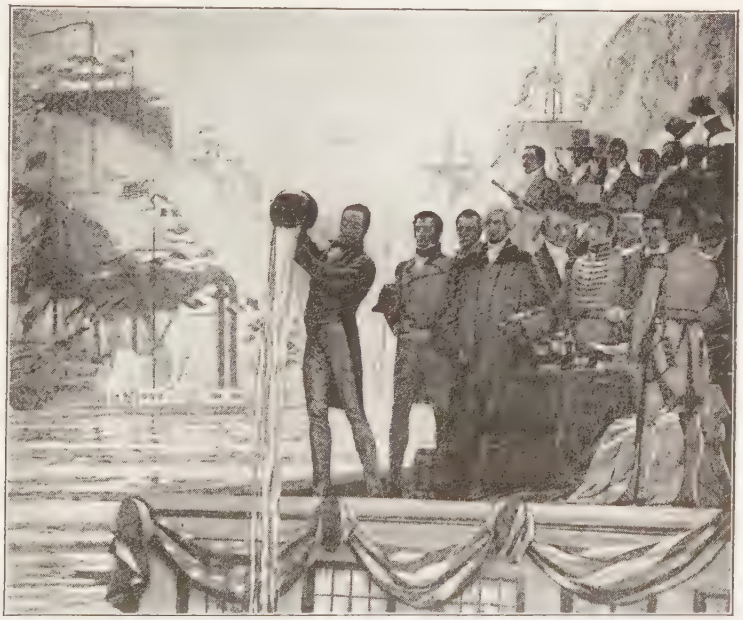
The building of a canal, therefore, was proposed by DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York, to connect the Great Lakes with the Eastern seaboard. In 1817, through his untiring energy, the work was undertaken by the State of New York, and a large body of laborers began the task of digging the Erie Canal. It extended from Buffalo, on Lake Erie, to Albany, on the Hudson, a distance of three hundred and sixty-three miles. As the lake is nearly six hundred feet higher than the Hudson, and as the canal had to pass through forests and across rivers, many looked upon the project as foolish and ridiculed it as "Clinton's Ditch." But Clinton's perseverance

[1] The Erie Canal was opened in the autumn of 1825, the first year of John Quincy Adams's administration. John Quincy Adams, the son of John Adams and the sixth President of the United States (1825–1829), was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1767, and died in 1848. After graduating from Harvard he began the study of law. His public service was long and distinguished. He was successively American minister to Holland, Portugal, England, Prussia, and Russia, but was one of the American peace commissioners at the close of the War of 1812. After serving with signal ability as Monroe's secretary of state, he was elected to the presidency. As President he was unpopular and made many enemies. But the greatest part of his career began when he entered the national House of Representatives in 1831. Here he became the antislavery statesman of his time. His fearlessness won the admiration of friend and foe alike. He remained a member of the House until 1848, when he fell dead in the Capitol. He was well called the "Old Man Eloquent."

overcame all opposition, and the Erie Canal was formally opened for use in 1825.

Results of building the canal.

The results surpassed the highest expectations, even of Clinton. By means of the canal (1) cost of transportation was greatly reduced. Before the canal was built, ten dollars had been the charge for carrying a barrel of flour from Buffalo to

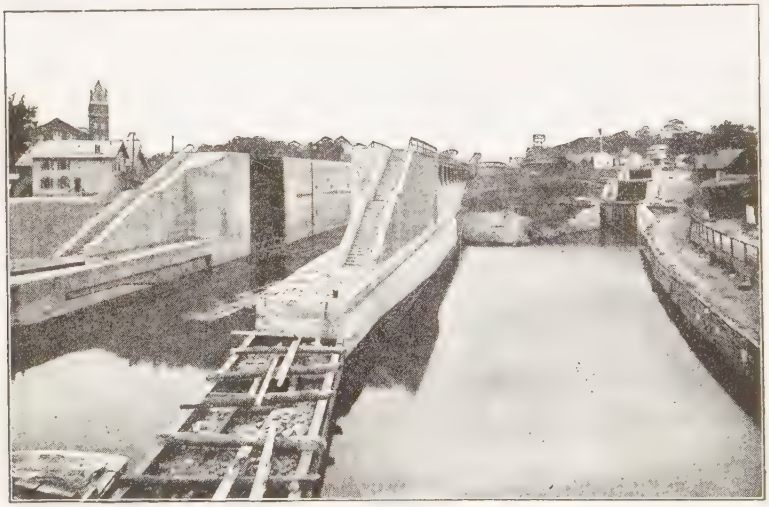


GOVERNOR CLINTON POURING WATER FROM LAKE ERIE INTO NEW YORK HARBOR AT THE OPENING OF THE CANAL.

After a painting by C. Y. Turner, in the DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City.

Albany by wagon; by canal-boat the expense was reduced to thirty cents. (2) Since the canal made travel easier and less expensive, it increased migration westward, carrying thousands of emigrants. (3) All along the canal, towns and cities rapidly grew up, so that New York soon became the most populous state in the Union. (4) It greatly stimulated the development of New York City, which quickly became, as it has remained,

the chief commercial city in the country. (5) By largely reducing the freight charges for transportation of goods, it made the food produced on Western farms much cheaper in the East, and for the same reason the manufactured goods from the East and those imported from Europe sold for lower prices in the West.



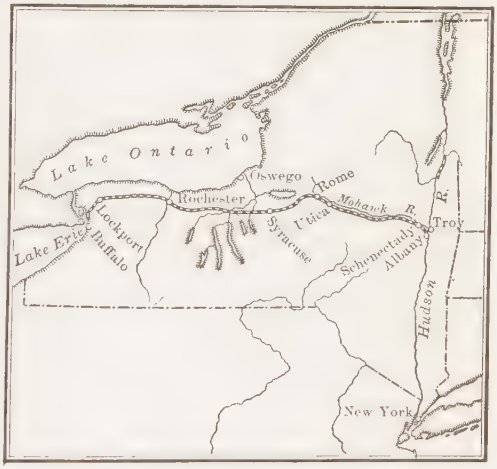
RECONSTRUCTION OF ERIE CANAL LOCKS AT WATERFORD, NEW YORK.

It would be difficult to estimate, therefore, the extent to which it increased the wealth of both sections of the country.

The natural boundary-line between freedom and slavery.

The rapid settlement of the West brought to the front the vital question of our national policy in regard to slavery. Nature had decreed that the large plantation, where alone slavery was profitable, should belong only to the South. Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio River formed the convenient and natural boundary-line between the free and the slave states as far west as the Mississippi River. North of that line slaves were of use mainly as household servants. It was thought that other kinds of work could be done by white labor with greater profit and, therefore, there were comparatively few slaves.

Down to the time of the Louisiana Purchase, then, soil and climate seem to have largely decided what should be the line separating freedom from slavery. Seven of the thirteen original states were free and six were slave, but the admission of new ones had been so planned that in 1819 there were eleven standing for freedom and the same number for slavery. In this way each section had an equal vote in the Senate. In the House of Representatives the North, having grown in population much more rapidly than the South, had by 1819 a much larger vote.[1] If, however, the South could maintain an equality in the Senate, legislation unfriendly to slavery could be prevented. To this end the slaveholders were ready to put forth all their energy.



THE ROUTE OF THE ERIE CANAL.

The question of extension of slavery into the Louisiana territory results in the Missouri Compromise.

In 1818, Missouri, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, applied for admission into the Union. The first state admitted from this purchase, Louisiana, had come in as a slave state in 1812, but it was far south of the line dividing freedom and slavery as already established. Missouri, however, lay partly north of this dividing-line and partly south. The Northern people claimed that as Congress had control of the territories it had a constitutional right to decide whether they should be free or slave. The Southern people, on the other hand, insisted that each state had a constitutional right to

[1] In 1820 the free states had 105 representatives in the House of Representatives, while the slave states had 82.

decide this question for itself. When Missouri applied for admission, it requested that it might have slavery.

It happened that about the same time Maine wished to be admitted as a free state. The slaveholding interests refused to allow Maine to enter the Union unless Missouri should be admitted as a slave state. This proposal led to a stormy debate. At last, largely through the influence of Henry Clay, an act known as the "Missouri Compromise" was passed, which for a time settled the difficulty. This compromise had three provisions: (1) Missouri was to come into the Union as a slave state; (2) Maine as a free state; and (3) all the remaining territory in the Louisiana Purchase, north of the parallel of 36° 30′, or the southern boundary of Missouri, was to be forever free. Maine was admitted as a free state in 1820, and Missouri as a slave state in 1821, making twelve free and twelve slave states. It was supposed that the slavery issue was finally settled. At least, for the time, it was buried.

HENRY CLAY.

Internal improvements and the "liberal" and "strict construction" views of the Constitution.

Another national question was that of internal improvements. The National Road and the Erie Canal were a part of an extensive system which was of great service in developing the West and connecting it with the East. The system included not only the building of roads and canals but the improvement of rivers and harbors. Some of these roads and canals were built by private enterprise and some by the separate states. The cost of building and keeping them in repair was met by toll charges. In spite of the evident advantages derived from these improvements, many insisted that they should be made by private companies or by the separate state governments rather than by Congress. They urged that the "general welfare"[1] of the people was not served by building

[1] See preamble to the Constitution.

roads and canals and by improving rivers and harbors, which were of benefit mainly to limited areas, and that therefore such works should not be undertaken by the central government at national expense. This was the view of those who gave a "strict construction" to all parts of the Constitution. Madison, Monroe, and Jackson were of this party. That Congress to-day

A PASSENGER CANAL-BOAT.

gives a "liberal construction" to the Constitution is shown by the "River and Harbor Bill," which is passed every year for the improvement of rivers and harbors in all parts of the country.

New problems bring about a new political party.

As other new and perplexing problems presented themselves they led to the rise of a new political party. The alien and sedition laws had given a severe blow to the Federalist party, and the Hartford Convention had killed it. This left the Democratic-Republicans the only political party in the country. This unusual political condition prevailed from 1817 to 1825, during Monroe's administration, and for that reason his two terms have ever since been called the "Era of Good Feeling."

The new problems involved three pressing and vital questions: (1) Shall internal improvements be made by Congress at national

expense? (2) Is the United States Bank constitutional? (3) Is the true policy of the country represented by a tariff for revenue only or a high tariff for the protection of home industries? The Democrats, as the Democratic-Republicans now began to call themselves, believed in leaving internal improvements to private enterprise or to state governments. They regarded the United States Bank as unconstitutional. They favored a low tariff.

The new party, following Adams and Clay, wished internal improvements to be made at national expense, approved the United States Bank, and urged that a high protective tariff was for the best interests of the people. Because this new party would extend the powers of the national government in these three ways it was called the National Republican party. It was succeeded by the Whig party. This new party was of itself an indication of the growth in national feeling that had been continuous and that was to become more powerful during the years that followed. Making internal improvements at national expense was an attempt to meet the urgent need of better means of communication. In succession the steamboat, the National Road, the Erie Canal, and later the railroad supplied this need. All these improved ways of transporting the emigrant and his goods led to the rapid growth of the West and thus brought about, especially in this section, a quickening of national feeling.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. James Monroe was now President, serving two terms, 1817–1825. Why was this period called an "Era of Good Feeling"? Relate the outstanding events of this period.
2. Find all you can about the Holy Alliance. What was its connection with the Monroe Doctrine? Discuss the three main provisions of this doctrine and try to understand clearly its meaning; it will come up again later. In what connection have you heard of it recently?
3. The Monroe Doctrine was an expression of nationalism and of the idea you encountered in the Declaration of Independence, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Note to what extent America adheres to this ideal at the present time. What movements were making broader and deeper the current of national feeling at this time and in the years that followed?

4. Before the purchase of Louisiana, what was the natural boundary-line between free and slave territory? Explain how soil and climate favored slavery south of Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio River.
5. Why was the South eager to maintain in the Senate an equality with the North? What difficulty was settled for the time being by the Missouri Compromise? What was this compromise? In this connection reconsider the Ordinance of 1787.
6. Review what has been said about the pack-horse, the flatboat, the steamboat, and the National Road. In what way did the Erie Canal supplement these? Do not be satisfied until you know well the results of this canal on westward growth and trade and on the growth of New York City.
7. John Quincy Adams served for one term as President (1825–1829). Name in order the Presidents that preceded him.
8. What was meant by internal improvements? Why were they greatly needed at this time? What two views were held as to the best way of making internal improvements? You see you are again face to face with the two opposite views of the true meaning of the Constitution.
9. What were the new political problems, and what the pressing questions they involved? What was the new political party, and how did it answer each of these questions? How did the Democratic party answer them?
10. In this connection you might well review what you have already studied about political parties. You will recall two great mistakes made by the Federalist party. Make use of the index in looking up references.
11. Read Washington's "Farewell Address," and the message containing the Monroe Doctrine, in connection with our relations with other countries. Various interpretations have been put on them in recent years. Compare conditions then and now as to commerce, life of the people, population, difficulties in travelling, distance in time between countries, and our security and ability to protect ourselves as a nation.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 232–246; Hart, *The Formation of the Union*, 236–244; Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 84–110; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 363–377; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 169–174, 238–273; Gordy, *Stories of Later American History*, 187–198; Earle, *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*.

FICTION: Eggleston, *The Circuit Rider*, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, *The Hoosier Schoolboy*, *The Graysons*.

CHAPTER XI

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY COMES OUT OF THE WEST (1829–1841)

Andrew Jackson, idol of the common people, is inaugurated.

As the West grew in population and enterprise, it assumed its share of national responsibility and began to supply political leaders. Thus far the six Presidents of the United States had come from Virginia or Massachusetts. They were all men of superior education and stood for what was best in the social life of New England and the South. The next President was Andrew Jackson.[1] With him there came to the White House a new type. He belonged to the common people, was chosen by them, and was their idol. On the day of his inauguration the streets of Washington were thronged with the populace, shouting and pushing and striving each to be first at the Capitol. The inaugural ceremonies were simple. Jackson went on foot, attended by his official suite and led by a special committee. His address was brief but impressive. The oath of office was administered. Returning from

ANDREW JACKSON.

[1] Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States (1829–1837), was born in Union County, North Carolina, in 1767, and died at his home, "The Hermitage," near Nashville, in 1845. When only fourteen years old he joined the American force under Sumter. After the Revolution he began to study law. At the age of twenty-nine he removed to Nashville, and soon became prominent in public life. He was elected to the national House of Representatives, and later to the Senate. In 1814 he was appointed major-general in the United States army, and in this position won the brilliant victory at the battle of New Orleans. On account of his obstinate will his friends called him "Old Hickory."

the Capitol he rode on horseback. The crowd pursuing him were with difficulty held back as they rushed toward the White House, where cakes and ices were to be served. There they surged to and fro, even standing upon chairs, we are told, for a better view of the President. Apparently they had a sense of personal ownership in this man of the people, and seemed to believe that he was ushering in a new day when the masses would make themselves felt in the affairs of the nation as never before.

THE HERMITAGE.

The home of Andrew Jackson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Of Jackson himself it should be said that, although his education had been meagre, he was a man of ability and of strong and forceful character. He was a natural leader of men and had occupied many positions of trust in the community in which he lived. His unbounded faith in his own convictions caused him to commit some errors as President, but he was always sincere and intensely patriotic. He was loyal to his friends, and equally severe to his enemies. His personal prejudices were so fused with his jealousy for the nation that he regarded those who politically disagreed with him as enemies not only of himself but of his country.

His genuine interest in the welfare of the people cannot be questioned. During the eight years of his presidency (1829-1837) his influence upon the course of events was intensely personal, yet at the same time lasting. In a true sense he belonged to the people, who cheerfully followed wherever he led. He stood for the policies of the frontier, and his administration has ever since been characterized by the term "Jacksonian Democracy."

Jackson adopts the "Spoils System."

When Jackson became President he desired to reward those political friends who had worked for his election, and therefore adopted the practice of "rotation in office." "To the victors belong the spoils" was his motto. He considered it undemocratic to allow any group of men to remain long in office to the exclusion of others just as worthy. Accordingly, he dismissed 2,000 postmasters[1] and other officials, although their work was in no way connected with politics, and appointed his own followers to the positions. They were put into office because they were his followers and not because they had a special fitness for the work they were to do. This was the introduction into national politics on a large scale of the "Spoils System," which continued unchecked in the country until 1883. Although in a measure corrected by the "Merit System," or "Civil Service Reform," started in that year, it has been at all times a demoralizing influence in the political life of the nation.

By the invention of the spinning-machine, power-loom, steam-engine, and the building of mills and factories, the nation makes a great advance in its industrial life.

Quite apart from the sudden changes in party politics was the growth of the industrial life of the nation. From a small beginning in colonial times it advanced steadily through the period of the wars. During the time of Jackson's administration it had become a determining factor in the nation's public policy. Let us review it briefly, going back to the eighteenth century and the earlier conditions in England, where an industrial revolution had been going on in the textile, or cloth-making, industry.

In the year (1764) before the passage of the Stamp Act an English weaver invented a machine which could spin eight threads at one time. In the course of years other machines were made that could spin thousands of threads at a time. Then (1785) two years after the close of the Revolution came the invention of the power-loom, which advanced remarkably the tex-

[1] During the forty years from 1789 to 1829 there had been only 74 removals, or, on an average, less than 2 a year. Of these, Washington had made 9; John Adams, 10; Jefferson, 39; Madison, 5; Monroe, 9; John Quincy Adams, 2.

tile industry. After improvements in the first model, one person could do on the power-loom the work of hundreds on the hand-loom. At first these new machines were run by horse-power or by water-power, but before the end of the century another great invention, the steam-engine, already mentioned in connection with the steamboat, supplied the power. This was a great advantage, because it allowed the machines to be set up wherever they were needed, without having to depend upon rivers and streams.

These new machines speedily came into use because they could easily produce so much more than was possible by hand labor; but they were too expensive for the individual spinner or weaver to own, and too large to set up in his home. Accordingly, men who had a large amount of money, or capital, set them up in buildings constructed for that purpose. This was the way the great mills and factories of our time had their beginning. At first Englishmen tried to prevent these new inventions from being shipped to other countries, and attempted to keep the men who knew how to build and run them from leaving England. However, the inventions soon came into use in our new country, where they completely changed the making of cotton and of woollen cloth.

The first spinning-mill with machines after the English models was built by Samuel Slater, at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. This was the beginning of the factory system in the United States. The first textile factory, in the modern sense, that is, a building where spinning, weaving, and finishing are all done under one roof and all the machines are driven by the same power, was built at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1814. Here the power-loom was first used in this country.

Another industry which played a part in the industrial revolution was that of iron and steel. Like the making of cloth, it had an early beginning but did not increase much during the colonial period. Common farm implements, tools, and household utensils were made in most of the colonies, but the finer grades of cutlery and edged tools were brought from England.

It was not until the beginning of the last century that the iron

and coal fields of western Pennsylvania began to be worked, and Pittsburgh, now the most important centre of the iron industry, had its first foundry (1803). During the years that followed, furnaces, forges, iron-mills, and steel-works sprang up in all quarters.

The growth of machine industry brings about two marked results.

The spinning-machine and the power-loom, along with other improvements in the making of articles for every-day life, brought about an industrial revolution in the United States. It had two marked results, both of which affected deeply the social and political life of the people: (1) It encouraged American manufacture; (2) it transferred work from the home to the factory. Let us see how this came about.

During the Revolution most of the people dressed in homespun, and most of them worked on the farm. Even down to 1808 not far from nine-tenths of the population was engaged in tilling the soil. Some manufacturing was done, but only in a rude and simple way. For as much as a score of years after Washington became President, the coarser cloths for ordinary use were made by hand in the household and in the shop, while the finer grades, which required skilled labor, were brought over from England.

During the seven years beginning with the embargo, early in 1808, and extending to the close of the war, early in 1815, our trade with England was cut off, so that what we did not make for ourselves we could not have at all. In these years American manufacturing began to increase rapidly, and continued to do so during the rest of the century. Hand industry in the household rapidly gave place to machine industry in mills and factories. By the new method one person running a machine carrying 3,000 spindles, could spin as much as 3,000 women fifty years earlier could have spun with the spinning-wheel. Not only was the process quicker; it was for that reason cheaper. For example, the cost of weaving a yard of broadcloth fell from fifty cents in 1823 to fifteen cents eighteen years later. By 1850 factory-made goods had almost driven the ordinary home-made goods out of the market.

American industrial independence is attained by the aid of tariff legislation.

Even before the middle of the century we could largely supply the demands of our home market with goods of American manufacture. This stage in our industrial development was reached by the aid of special legislation, the purpose of which was to help our manufacturers in their competition with the manufacturers of Europe, especially of England. It brought to the front a great question which has not yet been answered to the satisfaction of all our people: Does the welfare of the country as a whole call for a high tariff or a low tariff?

Before 1816 duties had been levied on goods from foreign countries, mainly for revenue to pay the expenses of the national government. These duties furnished some protection to American manufactures which had in early days sprung up on New England hillsides; but the chief motive for the tariff was to bring money into the government treasury. This was called a tariff for revenue with incidental protection.

After the War of 1812 closed and trade was resumed with foreign countries, our markets became flooded with foreign goods, especially from England. Labor was so much cheaper in England than in this country that her merchants could sell goods to the United States at a lower price than American manufacturers could afford to sell them. Our manufacturers naturally called for a higher import tax on the class of goods that could be made to advantage in American mills and factories, so that they could afford to undersell the foreigner and still make a profit. Such a tariff is said to encourage home industries, or to protect American manufacturers from foreign competition. It is therefore called a protective tariff.

Difference in industrial conditions in the South leads to opposition to the tariff system.

The first protective tariff was laid in 1816. Still the duties were so low that foreign merchants could pay them and fill our markets with their goods. The New England manufacturers could not thrive under such conditions and urged Congress to raise the duties. These were therefore gradually increased until the high tariff of 1828 was passed. In the South

industrial conditions differed so widely from those in the North that manufacturing had no place there. The people of the South were almost exclusively employed in raising the four great staples—rice, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. The slaves were not intelligent enough to be employed in manufacturing which required the running of complex machinery. They were adapted only to agricultural labor on large plantations. Such a difference in industrial conditions between the North and South brought about conflicting business interests in the two sections and consequently a serious disagreement in regard to the tariff system.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

As the Southern people had to buy all their manufactured goods, naturally they wished to buy at the lowest prices. They claimed the right to import foreign goods free from duty. In other words, they wished free trade, or freedom to seek, without government restrictions, any foreign market.

John C. Calhoun becomes the able spokesman for South Carolina in its contention for state rights and nullification.

The people of South Carolina held that a protective tariff made them poorer and the New England manufacturers richer, and that it was therefore sectional and unfair. John C. Calhoun, an able statesman of South Carolina and Vice-President during most of Jackson's first term, led his state in this memorable struggle over the tariff. He declared that because the tariff favored one section of the country at the expense of another, it was unconstitutional. His theory was the old one of state rights, the same as that voiced in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. He still held that the individual state was superior to the Union and that each state was its own master. According to his idea, the Union was a group of sovereign states, or nations, each of which could remain in the group or go out of it at will.

This was the doctrine of secession. "Moreover," he argued, "each state has a right to decide for itself whether or not laws passed by Congress are according to the Constitution." This was the doctrine of state rights. Calhoun declared that any state could nullify or declare not binding in its own territory any law which it decided to be unconstitutional. This, as we know, was the doctrine of nullification. Since the North was rapidly outgrowing the South in wealth, population, and political power, it was natural that Calhoun should wish to protect the institution of slavery, which was the foundation of economic life in the South. He believed that only the doctrines of state rights and nullification could protect the slave states against the growing nationalism in the North.

New England manufacturers maintain that a protective tariff will in various ways benefit the country.

On the other hand, manufacturers of New England and of other Northern states maintained that a protective tariff would benefit the whole country in the following ways: (1) It would provide a revenue to defray the expenses of the government; (2) it would, by making wages higher, better the condition of working men; (3) it would furnish a home market for the products of the farm; (4) it would cause a greater variety of interests in the United States, and would thus make the country more independent of foreign nations, especially in time of war.

Webster and Jackson stand for the Union.

In the general discussion provoked by pressing national problems, there was a great debate in the United States Senate between Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, and Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, over the public lands. It was, indeed, a part of the dispute between the North and the South over the meaning of the Constitution. Webster, like Hamilton, believed in a strong federal Union, supreme in matters concerning the interests of all the people. He saw clearly that a Union composed of states with the right to nullify any laws passed by Congress must in time break down, just as the Confederation had broken down after the close of the Revolution. Therefore he insisted that, under the Constitution, the

state governments were inferior to the federal government; that the United States was a nation with supreme authority over the states; and in the final outburst of an eloquent speech that enthralled his hearers he declared that the flag stood for "Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

The questions of the tariff and state rights could not be separated. But it was on the matter of tariff that the issue was being fought out, and the South, knowing Jackson's opposition to a high protective tariff, believed that he was on their side. To assure themselves, they invited him to a dinner in Washington, and requested him to speak on a toast of his own selection. We may imagine the surprise and shock when he proposed this toast: "Our federal Union; it must be preserved." Although he did not like the tariff, yet as head of the federal Union he meant to enforce its laws.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

At another time, when asked by a member of Congress from South Carolina whether he had any message for his friends in that state, he said: "Please give my compliments to my friends in your state, and say to them that if a single drop of blood shall be shed in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I can lay my hands on engaged in such treasonable conduct." In this struggle for the Union, Jackson was supported by Thomas H. Benton, a prominent senator from the slave state of Missouri.

An attempt is made to satisfy South Carolina.

In 1832 an attempt was made to pour oil upon the troubled waters by adopting a new protective tariff, lower than the tariff of 1828 and, therefore, less objectionable to the South. But South Carolina, being opposed to the principle of protection, was still dissatisfied. Accordingly, a state convention was called in 1832 which declared that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were null and void, and prohibited the payment, after a

certain date (February 1, 1833), of duties under these laws in the ports of South Carolina. The convention threatened that, in case the United States should try to enforce the tariff laws in South Carolina, she would withdraw from the Union and organize a separate government. When Jackson received the news of the action of the South Carolina Convention he was filled with in-

THE HOME OF DANIEL WEBSTER, MARSHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

dignation and exclaimed: "The Union! It must and shall be preserved! Send for General Scott!" He added that if it should become necessary to use force, he would promptly send 40,000 troops to South Carolina.

Through Clay's influence, however, Congress enacted a compromise measure, gradually lowering the duties. Under this gradual reduction the tariff, at the end of ten years, would not be far removed from a tariff for revenue only. The prompt, energetic action of the President was an object-lesson to the nation. We should remember with gratitude the unflinching devotion of Daniel Webster and Andrew Jackson to the Union at this critical time.

Jackson opposes Hamilton's idea of the United States Bank, and places government money in state banks.

Another burning question of this period was the United States Bank. The first United States Bank was planned by Alexander Hamilton[1] and chartered for twenty years (1791–1811); and the second one also received a charter for the same number of years (1816–1836). It was to

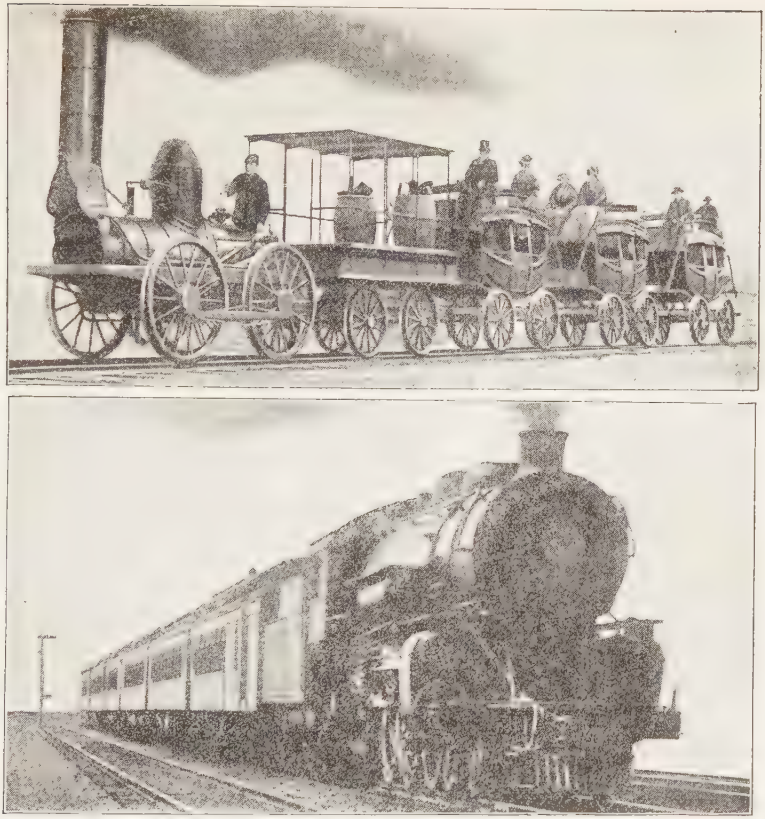
[1] This bank was an important feature in Hamilton's scheme for giving the national government a firm financial footing.

receive all revenue and other public money and to pay this out as needed by the government. Its friends, the National Republicans, maintained that it made the paper currency more stable and more uniform throughout the United States. Jackson declared it was unconstitutional; that it enriched the managers at the expense of the people, and was therefore not

THE MEETING OF THE WAYS.
After a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

democratic; that its funds were used in politics to reward its friends and to injure its enemies.

Although the charter of the second United States Bank was not to expire until 1836, a bill to recharter was passed by Congress in 1832. It failed to become a law by reason of Jackson's veto. The next year the President decided that thereafter all the money of the government should be deposited in various state banks. This was known as the "removal of deposits." Since all the banks chosen by the President were managed by Democrats, they were known as "pet banks." The effect of the "removal of deposits" will be better understood when we observe later how money was used at that time in the development and expansion of the West.



By courtesy of the New York Central Lines.

ABOVE, THE FIRST TRAIN (1831) OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD WITH THE "DE WITT CLINTON" LOCOMOTIVE. BELOW, THE "TWENTIETH CENTURY LIMITED."

In 1921 these trains were run side by side on the New York Central's tracks and photographed for the moving-picture films.

The rapid growth of railroads brings new problems and new opportunities.

Vast sums had been spent upon roads, canals, and steamboats to promote travel and transportation. As already seen (see page 217), the application of steam-power to boats made the people independent of wind and current, but other methods of trade and travel overland were too slow and too meagre for the expanding energies of the American people. The great problem was to find some way of

applying steam-power to travel and transportation by land. The railroad and the steam locomotive-engine furnished a solution.

The first type of railroad was the wooden rail used in the coal-mines of England. The next step was to cover the wooden rail with a thin layer of iron for protection. This was the form in which the first railroad appeared in the United States, at Quincy, Massachusetts (1826). It was only five miles long, and its cars were drawn by horses. It was used to carry granite from the quarries to the place of shipping. In 1828 the first passenger-railroad in the United States was begun in Baltimore. It extended westward about thirteen miles, and its cars were at first drawn by horses. This road was the beginning of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The extension of railroads in the United States has been rapid. In 1828 there were only 3 miles; in 1837, 1,500 miles; and in 1840, 2,200 miles. Since that time the growth has been tremendous. The United States now has over 250,000 miles of railroad.

Travel by rail brought about great changes in the life of the people: (1) It stimulated Western migration; (2) it made Western lands more valuable; (3) by lowering cost of transportation, it cheapened Western food in the East and Eastern manufactured goods in the West; (4) it therefore added to the wealth of both parts of the country and brought the people into closer understanding and sympathy.

From 1821 to 1837, after some years of financial depression, the country had been highly prosperous. Crops were good, trade and manufactures flourished, and cities grew rapidly. In 1821 the population of the whole country was 10,000,000; in 1837 it was 16,000,000. It is well for us to remember that this remarkable growth in population[1] was encouraged by the vast expanse of rich public land which the government was offering for very small sums, and also that it was stimulated by the steamboat

[1] Immigration from 1829 to 1837

The number of immigrants coming into the country was as follows: 22,520 in 1829; 23,322 in 1830; 22,633 in 1831; 60,482 in 1832; 58,640 in 1833; 65,305 in 1834; 45,374 in 1835; 76,242 in 1836; 79,340 in 1837.

and the railroad. Before 1837 steamboats were in extensive use on the Great Lakes, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the many smaller tributaries of those rivers. And now, with the inven-

ABOVE, FORT DEARBORN IN 1831, PRESENT SITE OF CHICAGO. BELOW, A BIT OF THE CHICAGO WATER-FRONT.

tion of the railroad, settlement spread westward with ever-increasing rapidity.[1] Towns and cities as if by magic sprang into existence. In 1830 Chicago consisted of a fort (Dearborn)

[1] INCREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1821 TO 1837

In New York the increase in population from 1821 to 1837 was from 1,400,000 to 2,200,000; in Pennsylvania it was from 1,000,000 to 1,760,000; in Ohio from 600,000 to 1,400,000; in Tennessee from 450,000 to 800,000; in Indiana from 170,000 to 600,000; in Mississippi from 80,000 to 320,000; in Missouri from 70,000 to 350,000; in Illinois from 60,000 to 400,000; in Michigan from 10,000 to 200,000.

and a small village. In 1833 it had 550 inhabitants; in 1837 it numbered 4,170; and at the last census 2,701,212.

Speculation in Western lands on borrowed government money leads to grave financial problems.

Extensive areas of Western public lands, offered at low prices, encouraged speculation. Plans were laid to buy up large tracts and connect them with the East by roads, canals, and railroads. It required a great amount of money to establish so many great lines of communication, but the demand was easily met after the "removal of deposits," for the public money, being distributed among many state banks, was more accessible to borrowers. Loans could quickly be obtained, and here and there cities were laid out in the West. Then by the sale of these lands, at an enormous advance in price, the speculators became suddenly rich. To make a fortune in lands seemed so easy that men took great risks with borrowed money.

The increasing demand for money led to "wildcat" banking. A few men with little or no capital to make good the notes they issued would start a bank by issuing cheaply printed bills (notes) which they circulated under the name of money. After buying government lands and paying for them with these notes, they would sell their lands for gold and silver. When, however, their own notes returned to be redeemed in gold and silver, these dishonest bankers would fail, and, in some cases, go elsewhere and repeat their swindling operations.

The United States pays off the public debt and lends surplus to the states.

Such enormous sales of government lands made it possible for the United States to pay the public debt. Whereas in 1830 the sum received for the lands was $2,300,000, six years later it reached nearly $25,000,000, and by the end of 1835 the public debt was paid. The apparent prosperity caused foreigners to emigrate from Europe to this country, and they came in large numbers.

After the public debt was paid, there was a large surplus, $28,000,000 of which was distributed among the various state banks. It was now very easy for state governments, especially where the "pet banks" were located, to get money for extensive

internal improvements, and for this purpose they invested large sums. Not satisfied with what their states supplied, they began to borrow largely from foreign countries. By 1837 these foreign debts amounted to nearly $200,000,000. Of course the loans from foreign countries made money all the more plentiful, and the fever of speculation raged more fiercely than ever.

Continued speculation on paper promises of "wildcat" banks leads to the issue of the specie circular.

Such reckless operations could not fail to bring disaster. The wildcat banks had issued so many paper promises, based upon nothing more solid than the people's willingness to receive them, that, like the Continental currency, they were without value. Jackson was alarmed at the amount of this worthless paper coming into the government treasury.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

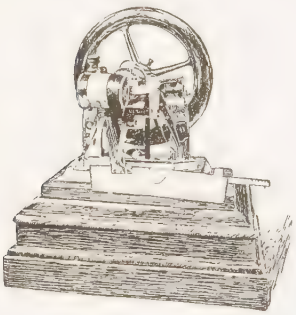
He therefore issued the famous specie circular, which declared that in the future nothing but specie, that is, gold and silver, would be received in payment for public lands. The wildcat bank-notes, no longer of any use for this purpose, went streaming back to the banks that had issued them, for redemption in gold and silver. Since the banks were without the gold and silver to make good their printed promises, the promises were worth nothing and could not be redeemed.

The "Panic of 1837" leads to the establishment of the independent treasury.

At once there arose a great demand for money. Men tried to sell stocks, houses, lands—in fact, every kind of property—to raise money to pay their debts. All wanted to sell. None wished to buy. As always happens under such conditions, prices went down with astonishing rapidity. There were wide-spread business failures, and rich men became poor. Mills and factories shut down

because they could not sell their goods. Laboring men were thereby thrown out of work, and their families suffered for lack of food. Soon there were bread riots in the streets of New York. It was a distressing time and has always been known as the "Panic of 1837."

In the midst of this financial distress the "pet banks" could not pay back to the federal government the money which it had deposited in them. The government being greatly embarrassed, President Van Buren[1] was obliged to call a special session of Congress to adopt some plan for getting money to pay the running expenses of the government. Congress authorized the Treasury Department to issue $10,000,000 in notes. The wisdom of having an independent treasury instead of a number of state banks for the safekeeping of all the public money was now evident. The matter was taken up, and by 1846 it became the settled policy of the United States to have a national treasury which should take care of all the money paid to the government.[2]



HOWE'S MODEL OF THE SEWING-MACHINE.

The invention of the sewing-machine lowers the cost of clothing.

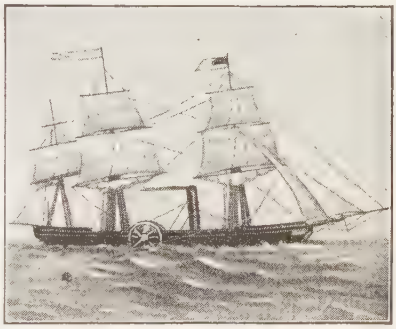
While statesmen and bankers were busy in solving financial problems, inventors and business men were bringing about changes in ways of working and living, which added much to the ease and comfort of all classes of people. We have already discussed the effect of the cotton-

[1] Martin Van Buren, eighth President of the United States (1837–1841), was born at Kinderhook, New York, in 1782, and died in 1862. After he had received his training as a lawyer he began, at only eighteen years of age, his long political career. He represented New York in the Senate and afterward served his state as governor. When Jackson was elected President, he made Van Buren his secretary of state. During Jackson's second term Van Buren was Vice-President. In 1837 the latter became President, but owing to the unpopularity of his administration, he failed to be re-elected. He was eminent not only as a lawyer but also as a political leader.

[2] This independent treasury is at Washington, with nine branches as subtreasuries, distributed in the following commercial centres: New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Baltimore.

gin, the spinning-machine, and the power-loom upon the cost of all kinds of cloth. But the methods of making cloth into garments were still unchanged down to the first half of the nineteenth century. The old-time needle, which had been known for thousands of years, was still in use, and the making of clothes was a slow, tedious, and expensive process.

For a long time inventors had been trying to devise machines by which garments could be made more quickly than by hand, but it was not until 1846 that Elias Howe took out the first patent for a sewing-machine. Machines built on lines similar to his have since been adapted to different uses, such as the making of clothes, of shoes, of harness, and of books. And just as machinery had taken spinning and weaving from the household to the factory, so machinery now transferred a large part of the making of clothes and of shoes from homes to factories, where the power sewing-machine has helped to build up great industries. This change from household manufacturing to the factory method of production greatly lowered the cost of the finished product, so that ready-made clothing and shoes came within the reach of even the very poor. All could be better dressed, therefore, and have a greater variety of clothing than was possible before the invention of the sewing-machine.



THE "SAVANNAH."
The first American ocean steamer.

The transatlantic steamship connects Europe and America.

Another aid to man and his work was the establishment of transatlantic steamship lines. The first ocean steamship to cross the Atlantic was the *Savannah*, sailing from Savannah, Georgia, in 1819. This was only a forerunner of progress. Nineteen years later (in 1838) two English steamships, the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, sailed from England to New York, and in 1840 the first regular transatlantic steamship line between New York

and Liverpool was established. This was the well-known Cunard line, and was the beginning of the great ocean lines now

ABOVE, THE U. S. BATTLESHIP ILLINOIS. BELOW, THE "WENATCHEE" LEAVING SEATTLE FOR THE ORIENT. INTERESTING COMPARISON IN SIZE BETWEEN THE "AQUITANIA," OF THE CUNARD LINE, AND A TRAIN THE LENGTH OF THE "IMPERATOR" OF CUNARD LINE. DISTANCE FROM FRONT TO REAR SMOKE STACK, 1,635 FEET. TRAIN, 576 FEET.

plying between Europe and America. Ocean steamship traffic greatly stimulated European immigration to this country and led to a rapid and amazing development.

Agricultural inventions lighten the farmer's work and increase production.

Keeping pace with advancement in other directions were certain inventions to facilitate farm work. You will recall that in colonial days plows with wooden mould-boards and wooden frames were in common use. These were often so heavy that they required four oxen to draw them. This form of plow continued in use until well into the nineteenth century, when, about 1825, a cast-iron one, which could be drawn by a single horse, took its place. Its introduction proved an important event in American history, for it saved an enormous amount of labor in breaking up farming land.

There was now a demand for an invention which would be of equal value in harvesting the crops. For hundreds of years men had used the sickle to cut the ripened grain. But early in the nineteenth century an improvement, the grain-cradle, was invented. Although swung by hand, the cradle was much better than the sickle because it cut a wide swath and at each sweep collected a large bunch of grain which could readily be made into bundles; but harvesting was still hard slow work, for the grain had to be threshed out with a flail or by having horses tread upon it as it lay upon the threshing-floor. All these processes required so much labor that the price of grain continued high.

A practicable reaper came into use about the middle of the century. In 1834 Cyrus H. McCormick had taken out a patent for the reaper known by his name, but about twenty years passed before it was in successful operation. It brought about a great saving in the work of the farmer, and, therefore, in the supply and cost of food. Drawn by two horses, the reaper could accomplish as much as twenty men using the grain-cradle.

The factory system results in a new division of labor and the formation of labor-unions.

The factory system of industry had other results than those affecting the manufactured product. In the apprentice system the learner worked by the side of the master from day to day and from month to month during the period of apprenticeship. There was a personal relationship and a friendly understanding between teacher and learner. Besides, the apprentice mastered

the whole trade. All this was changed by the factory method with its complex machinery and its division of labor. Instead of mastering the whole trade—the making of a shoe, for example—the youth now learns, as a rule, but one of the many, say 150, operations required to produce a high-grade article. Often as many different machines are used as there are operations; and often, in this division of labor, each worker is required to know only the single operation performed by his machine.

The factory system brought with it another unfortunate change. So much capital was required to construct large buildings and set up costly machinery that the men engaged in manufacturing fell into two classes. The one consisted of those who owned the plant and the tools, or the capitalists, and the other of those who used the tools, or the workers. In course of time there naturally grew up disputes and disagreements over the division of the proceeds of industry between the tool-owners and the tool-users.

In the early days of the factory system in this country wages were very low and the hours very long, sometimes from fourteen to sixteen hours. In order to better these conditions the working people began about 1825 to form labor-unions. In 1840 President Van Buren, who sympathized with the cause of labor, reduced the working day in government navy-yards and arsenals to ten hours. But many years passed before private employers adopted this schedule.[1]

The factory system affects woman and community life.

Other marked changes were brought about by the factory system, noticeably in the life of American women and in the character of the American home. For in colonial days—as noted, and the same was true even down to the early part of the nineteenth century—manufacturing was a household industry and was mostly carried on by women. After the introduction of machinery it followed naturally that women took up in the factory the work they had formerly done at home. There were other reasons, also, for the employment of women in factories. At that time it was easy for a man to se-

[1] The labor unions opposed child labor and favored a system of free public schools for rich and poor alike.

cure a farm of his own, and his chances of success were so inviting that he was unwilling to work in the factories. And even if he did not have his own farm, the demand for farm laborers was so great that men's wages were comparatively high. Besides, there was a strong prejudice against diverting men from the farm to the factory. It was argued that, as men were adapted to agriculture and women to manufacturing, there was an economic gain for the community in this division of labor. Since women could be hired at a lower wage, this argument was especially applied in the textile industries in New England. It was urged that they could be more successfully carried on by employing the cheaper labor of women. For the same reason children were employed in large numbers in textile mills and factories. Although in some cases they worked to supplement the family income, their employment in factories was largely in response to the industrial demand.

In the course of time, with the progress of invention and the building up of new trades, the work of women was enlarged to include many industries besides those they had formerly practised in the household. The new adjustment in women's occupations brought many changes in community life. When women entered the factories they worked during the same hours and under the same conditions as men, and the old family life at home was at an end in those households where the mother and sometimes the older children spent the long working day away from home under the factory roof. Even in those households where families remained unbroken the removal of many industries from the home gave leisure to women which they frequently employed in public ways.

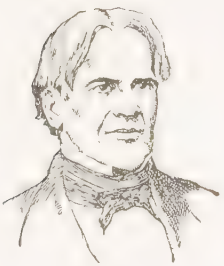
As evidence of growing democracy, universal manhood suffrage is adopted.

As methods of living improved, people began to think more actively and to take a larger interest in happenings outside of their immediate surroundings. An evidence is found in the extension of manhood suffrage. In the early days of the nation only those men could vote who possessed a certain amount of property or held certain religious beliefs. These qualifications were determined by the states separately. In the original thir-

teen states, at the time when Washington was first elected President, not half the men of twenty-one years of age and upward had the right of suffrage. In the newer states of the West, where the people were living and working pretty much on the same social and economic level, there was such a democratic spirit that all men at the age of twenty-one were made voters. Manhood suffrage, adopted throughout the West, soon spread to the older communities of the East; and when all the people had a share in the government, they took a keener interest in public affairs.

The public-school system shows a marvellous development of elementary schools, high schools, and colleges for both boys and girls.

The general belief that to rule wisely the people must have intelligent ideas of their duties toward the state and society led to our present system of public schools supported by taxation. The great loss of property during the Revolutionary War and the uncertain political outlook down to the end of the War of 1812 prevented the schools from receiving needful support during that period, and they had gone from bad to worse. Even at the close of President Jackson's second term (1837) they had not greatly improved. Very little except reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic was taught; English grammar, geography, history, and other subjects that are now taught in all public schools were not thought necessary at that time.



HORACE MANN.

As the population throughout the country was mostly rural, attendance was not large and the schools were ungraded. Even in towns and cities the same was true, for they were divided into school districts, each having its own separate schoolhouse. In this building, which generally contained but one room where one teacher did all the teaching, the children received their schooling.

As the cities grew larger, graded schools became necessary. At first there was the division into two groups, one for the

primary school and the other for the grammar-school. Gradually there were more groups, although the full plan of grading the course of study by years did not begin in many cities of the older Eastern states until after 1850.

Then, under the influence of educational leaders, such as Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, normal schools had begun to

THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL, CINCINNATI, OHIO.

train young men and women for teaching, and school superintendents in cities were supervising teachers, who were working out in a systematic way carefully organized courses of study. By 1860 a system of public schools supported by taxation had been organized in very many states of the Union.

As the country extended westward and became more prosperous and democratic, a demand arose for free public high schools of a new type. Although in colonial days there were so-called grammar-schools which taught Latin and other high-school subjects, yet, as a rule, the boys who wished to enter college attended a private academy, where they had to pay tuition fees. In 1821 Boston established a public high school. New York followed in 1825 and Philadelphia in 1839, and soon the number of free high schools increased rapidly in the New England and Middle states. These high schools not only prepared

boys for college but gave an education which was also a good foundation for business and for life in general.

Hand in hand with this extension and broadening of high-school opportunities went also an increase in the number of higher institutions of learning. As far back as 1789 North Carolina had established a state university; that is, a university under state control and supported by a state tax. South Carolina did the same in 1801 and Virginia in 1819. In the Middle West, Ohio opened a state university in 1802, Indiana in 1824, and Michigan in 1841. But these were only a few of the many state universities which were established in the country between 1820 and 1860. At the start they received a small income and their work was not much above that of high schools of to-day. In time, however, their courses were broadened and enriched until they gave an all-round training for leadership in the complex life of modern times.

WOMEN'S BUILDING, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA, ILL.

The founding of state universities as a part of the state system of education was the rounding out of the democratic ideal of educational training in this land of freedom; for the plan made it possible for every boy, rich or poor, to have a university education.

The education of girls and women in schools was long neglected. In colonial days and for a long time thereafter when women's work was confined mostly to the home, such elementary subjects as reading, writing, and simple arithmetic were all that were considered necessary. Many believed that women were not capable of studying successfully the higher

branches of learning. Years passed, therefore, before high schools and colleges opened their doors to them.

Higher education for girls and women began with the founding of seminaries. The two best known were Mount Holyoke Seminary, founded by Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke, Massachusetts, and the Troy Female Seminary, founded by Emma Willard at Troy, New York. Following them, many other such seminaries were established in various parts of the country.

EMMA WILLARD.

In 1833 the founders of Oberlin College took the important step of admitting women on an equal footing with men, and in the course of years the various state universities did the same. Since the middle of the last century the movement of higher education has greatly enlarged, and to-day most of the states have tax-supported universities, open to young men and young women on equal terms.

MARY LYON.

The newspaper begins to grow in numbers and influence.

The modern newspaper was a product of the same general awakening of the public mind. In Washington's administration, and for a long time afterward, newspapers still had no local news and no editorials. Their four small pages contained extracts made up of letters written to friends of the editor by people living at a distance, and also long essays by unknown writers on such subjects as morals and religion. This is not so very surprising when we recall that it was before the days of the telegraph, the telephone, and the fast railroad-trains. After these conveniences came into use the newspapers as news-gatherers entered upon a new life. Circulations rapidly increased. Papers multiplied and their prices fell. The New York *Daily Sun* was the first paper to reduce its price to one cent (1833). Two years later the New York *Herald* was established, and twelve years later

the New York *Times*. All these papers began to apply wonderful energy in gathering news, which was printed in a more convenient form than ever before. Since that time daily and

AN OLD-FASHIONED COMPOSING-ROOM.

"Frames," with hand compositors setting up type. See page 543.

weekly newspapers and monthly magazines have reached increasing millions of readers and have had a wide-spread influence in shaping public opinion.

The telegraph stimulates a great advance in communication and trade.

Still more wonderful than any of the aids to progress thus far mentioned was the application of the electric telegraph to practical use (1844). The inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse, strove patiently with Congress for twelve years to persuade it to test his invention. At last Congress reluctantly voted $30,000 for constructing the line from Baltimore to Washington, a distance of forty miles.

MORSE'S MODEL OF THE TELEGRAPH INSTRUMENT.

Morse himself sent the first message, "What hath God wrought!" from the Supreme Court room, in Washington, to Baltimore. The message was prophetic of the great changes brought into the world by this new and wonderful achievement. We think of it first, perhaps, as a news-gatherer, but far more important was its application to the practical affairs of life. For instance, by its use the handling of trains on great railroad systems has been greatly

accelerated, and trade and commerce have been much increased. By means of it business men can keep themselves informed about the quotations of prices in the world's great markets every hour in the day, and can transact more business in hours than would have been possible in months a hundred years ago.

The discovery of anæsthetics leads to relief of pain.

Another achievement of great benefit to mankind was the discovery that there are certain liquids and gases (anæsthetics) which can be safely used to produce unconsciousness and prevent pain. The first use of ether to render an operation painless was made in the United States in 1842 by Dr. Crawford W. Long, of Georgia. He did not, however, publish his discovery to the medical world. In 1844 Horace Wells, a dentist of Hartford, Connecticut, tried the experiment of having his teeth extracted after inhaling nitrous oxide, or "laughing gas," and under its influence he had no pain. Two years later Morton and Jackson, of Boston, Massachusetts, employed ether for the painless extraction of teeth. The discovery of the uses to which ether, nitrous oxide, and other anæsthetics may be put has made possible delicate surgical operations which could not otherwise be successfully performed.

A WESTERN UNION OFFICE.

Here cable messages are received and relayed by telegraph throughout the country.

The temperance movement is started.

The increased activity of the public mind during this period was accompanied by a quickening of the public conscience. Many men and women were the movers in a great temperance reform. There was so much pauperism and general

demoralization during the years following the War of 1812 that people became alarmed and began to inquire the cause. Investigating committees reported that alcohol was the most common source of the evil. Everybody drank—ministers, doctors, merchants, laborers, and even women and children. An occasion was never wanting; at funerals, weddings, dinners, and whenever friends met the social glass flowed.

In 1824 there began in Boston a great national temperance movement which swept through the Union. By 1830 a thousand temperance societies had been formed, and hundreds had given up the traffic in liquor. Temperance societies increased in number and influence, saving hundreds of thousands of men from the curse of the drinking habit. From that time the cause of temperance steadily gained ground.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. You have now reached an important chapter in your nation's history. Study it carefully. Since 1829 the influence of the West has been enormous. You will therefore add 1829 to the following landmarks: 1789, 1803, 1812–1814, 1820, 1823. Review the meaning of these dates. Are you still grouping less important events about the more important?
2. Andrew Jackson was President for two terms, 1829–1837. Name in order the Presidents who preceded him. What was the secret of Jackson's large influence over the people? Name his most striking characteristics.
3. What did Jackson mean by saying that the "Spoils System" was democratic? Do you think he was wise in adopting the "Spoils System" in national politics? Give reasons for your answer.
4. What is the difference between household industry and factory industry? Why did factory industry lower the cost of manufactured goods? How did factory production affect the life of the people? What was the relation between the factory system and the rise of labor-unions? Why were women and children employed in factories?
5. What did the industrial independence of the United States mean to us then? Does it mean the same now?
6. Recall the effect which the embargo and the War of 1812 had upon the growth of manufacturing in New England. Why could English goods be sold at a lower price than American?
7. Why did South Carolina object to a high protective tariff? What difference was there in the industrial condition of the North and the South? Explain how this difference arose.

8. On what ground did Calhoun declare that the protective tariff was unconstitutional? What was his idea of the Union? Impersonating a South Carolina planter living at that time, write a letter to a friend in New England, telling why you think the high tariff unfair to you.
9. What arguments did Northern manufacturers advance in favor of a protective tariff? What was Webster's idea of the Union? For thirty years Webster burned into the hearts of the American people the idea of nationality and the supremacy of the federal government.
10. What action was taken by the state convention in South Carolina? Estimate carefully Jackson's action when he heard of South Carolina's bold step. How did he reinforce Marshall's idea of making the federal law supreme?
11. Subject for debate: Resolved, That a protective tariff was for the best interests of the country as a whole.
12. What general results followed the building of railroads? Explain the relation of the railroad to Western development. Why was there extensive speculation in Western lands, and how did the "removal of deposits" make such speculation easier?
13. To what extent did immigrants participate in the settlement of the West? Discuss the rapid growth of the West.
14. How did the spinning-machine, the power-loom, and the sewing-machine cheapen the cost of clothing?
15. Explain the results of the industrial revolution.
16. Discuss universal manhood suffrage and broadening educational opportunity for men and women as steps in the progress of American democracy.
17. In what ways has the electric telegraph been helpful to the world?
18. Read Webster's famous "Reply to Hayne," and memorize some of the most eloquent passages. With reference to the growth of the national idea, this is one of the great documents in American history. It stands with Patrick Henry's speech before the Virginia assembly in forensic eloquence.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 37–68; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 270–289; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, 142–151; Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, chaps. X, XI; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 253–281; Burgess, *The Middle Period*, chap. X; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 392–415; Hapgood, *Webster;* MacDonald, chap. III, *Jacksonian Democracy*.

ORATORY: Webster, *Reply to Hayne;* Calhoun on Nullification.

CHAPTER XII

STATE RIGHTS AND NATIONAL SUPREMACY CLASH OVER SLAVERY IN THE NEW TERRITORY (1831–1859)

A. The Oregon Claims and the Anti-slavery Movement Come to the Front

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

While these several movements were going on for the general betterment of the people, there was a growing evil, not wholly recognized as such, which was undermining the foundations of the government, causing sectional differences of opinion that were to prove irreconcilable, and sapping the strength of the nation. This was slavery, concerning which unfortunate compromises had been made in the Constitution. The subject absorbed the interest of the people almost exclusively for the next twenty years, when it culminated in the Civil War.

Great Britain and the United States press their claims to the Oregon country.

Before we consider it, let us briefly refer to a question which for a time threatened to bring on war between the United States and England. It was the dispute about the Northwest Boundary. Our government claimed the country west of the Rockies from the northern boundary of California, then a part of Mexico, to the southern boundary of Alaska, or the latitude of 54° 40′. Great Britain claimed the region as far south as the Columbia River, or the latitude of 46°. By 1818 the dispute over these conflicting claims could no longer be ignored, but the two countries agreed to a joint occupation of the Oregon country for ten

years, and at the end of that period they renewed their agreement for an indefinite time.

American settlers strengthen our claims to Oregon.[1]

But events happened that made a definite boundary necessary. In 1792 the Columbia River had been discovered by Captain Gray of Boston; in 1805 it had been explored by Lewis and Clark; and in 1811 the trading-post, Astoria, had been established at its mouth by an American company. A yet stronger claim was that of the actual settlements planted there by Americans.

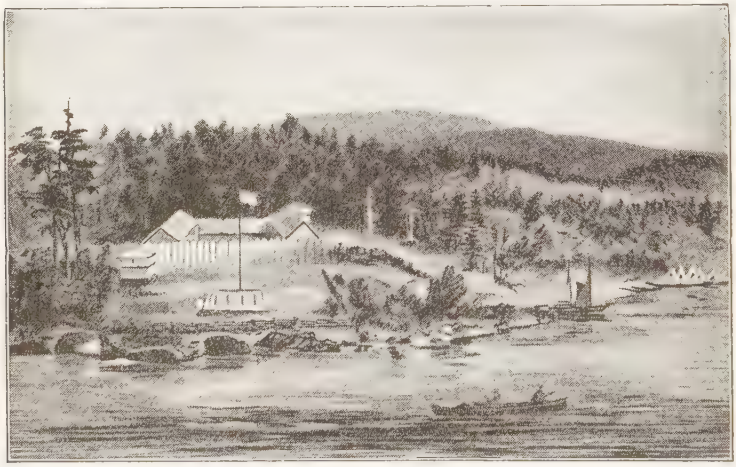
JOHN TYLER.

It is interesting to notice how these settlements had their beginning. Soon after Lewis and Clark returned from their expedition, trappers and fur-traders began to find their way into the regions which had been explored. Trading-posts sprang up at various points, Astoria being among the number. Following the traders and trappers came missionaries, who not only tried to make Christians of the Indians on the northwest coast

[1] This was during the administration of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, was born in Charles City County, Virginia, in 1773, and died in Washington, D. C., in 1841. After attending Hampden Sidney College, Virginia, he began to study medicine, but being drawn toward military life he soon entered the army at nineteen years of age. In the War of 1812 he served as major-general with distinction. Later he represented his state in both houses of Congress. He was the Whig candidate for the presidency in 1840, and after an exciting canvass in what has been called the "log-cabin and hard-cider campaign" he was elected. He died just one month after his inauguration.

John Tyler, tenth President of the United States (1841–1845), was born in Charles City County, Virginia, in 1790, and died in 1862. After he was graduated from the College of William and Mary he studied law and entered upon his long political career. He served his state as governor and represented it in both houses of Congress. He was elected Vice-President by the Whigs in 1840, and on the death of Harrison became President. He was soon engaged in a bitter struggle with the Whig leaders, with whom he became extremely unpopular. As a warm advocate of state sovereignty he gave his cordial support to the secession movement in 1861, when he was elected a member of the Confederate Congress.

but also occupied the land as farmers. These first steps toward American settlements began as early as 1832, but no large settlements were made until 1843. In that year 1,000 emigrants, guided much of the way by Dr. Marcus Whitman of the American Board of Missions, made the journey of more than two thousand miles across the prairies and over the mountains, braving many dangers and enduring much hardship.



ASTORIA, OREGON, IN 1813.
A fur-trading station founded in 1811 by John Jacob Astor.

Something of the trails, the method of travel, and the hardships of the pioneers.

The well-worn trails followed by these bold pioneers were really rude, rough roads made by wagons. There was no great water highway as in the Mississippi Valley, for the rivers were not suitable for travel by boat. One trail leading to the Oregon country started at Westport Landing (now Kansas City, Missouri) and followed along the valley of the Platte and Kansas Rivers over the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains.

On account of danger from Indians it was the custom for pioneers to band together in caravans. Women, children, and household goods were placed in huge canvas-covered wagons,

called prairie-schooners, which were drawn by oxen, while the men and older boys, armed with rifles and pistols, rode alongside on horseback, ready to beat off any sudden Indian attack. Each man served in turn as hunter and scout during the day, and as sentinel during the night. The pioneers usually took with them small herds of cattle, and tried at the close of the day to select a spot near some body of water, where there was grazing for the cattle and the horses. They arranged their wagons side by side in a circle as a fort-like defense against possible attack.

Another danger of the plains was the huge herds of buffaloes which were sometimes encountered. In their resistless onrush they trampled upon everything before them. But perhaps the most feared of all dangers was lack of food and water. This danger was likely to occur many times during the long pilgrimage of four or five months, for it might often happen that there was no game, or that there might be a long rainless period when the cattle suffered keenly from lack of both grass and water. Then, indeed, starvation and water famine threatened the pioneer travellers.

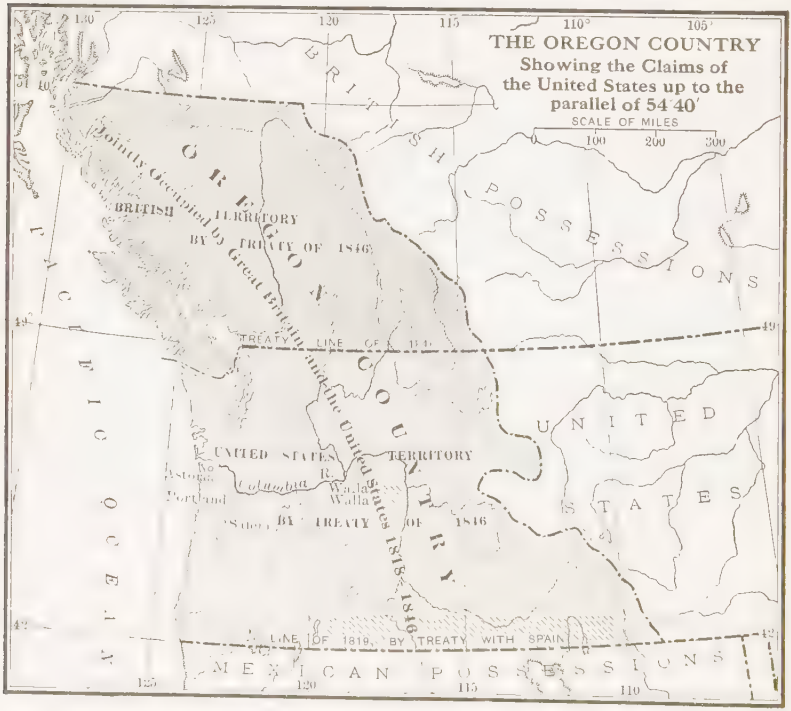
Yet in spite of the hardships and dangers of travel the settlements increased in number and population. In 1844, 2,000 emigrants went out to the Oregon country; by 1845, the American settlers numbered 7,000. For a long time the British Hudson Bay Company had been trading for furs in this region, but at that time it held only a small number of military posts and trading-stations. The United States could therefore claim the country by right of actual possession. We had the advantage of England because we were nearer the disputed territory.

The Oregon boundary is settled by treaty.

By a treaty agreed upon in 1846 both England and the United States gave up a part of their claims. The boundary determined upon was neither 54° 40′, as desired by the United States, nor 46°, as desired by England, but 49°, as at present. The whole Oregon country included what is now the states of Oregon, Idaho, and Washington, or an area equal to more than fifty states the size of Connecticut.

The story of the anti-slavery movement begins.

While the nation was extending its hold over this vast region, the slavery movement, referred to before, was gaining momentum and was about to fall with crushing weight upon the country. In order to understand the opposition to this old established institution of the South,


THE OREGON COUNTRY
Showing the Claims of the United States up to the parallel of 54 40'
SCALE OF MILES
100 200 300
Jointly Occupied by Great Britain and the United States 1818-1846
BRITISH TERRITORY BY TREATY OF 1846
OREGON
POSSESSIONS
TREATY LINE OF 49°
UNITED STATES TERRITORY BY TREATY OF 1846
Columbia R.
Portland
Salem
UNITED STATES
LINE OF 1819, BY TREATY WITH SPAIN
MEXICAN POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
130 125 120 115 110° 105°
49 42

we must notice for a moment the new spirit which was gaining ground among the plain people of the country. It has been rightly said that when Andrew Jackson went to Washington as President he took the people with him. It is certainly true that at that time the common people began to feel a sense of their power such as they had not experienced before. Jackson supported them in this feeling by emphasizing their rights and by encouraging them to use their power in directing the affairs of the nation.

It was in part the growing democratic spirit that caused the

anti-slavery movement, led by the abolitionists, although the movement was mainly due to a deeper recognition of the dignity and worth of man as man, regardless of race or color. Slavery, it was felt, was out of place in a country where the people are the rulers. This sentiment, at first limited to a despised few who were called fanatics, spread in the course of years through all classes of society in the free states.

Prominent in the cause was William Lloyd Garrison. He was a young man of small means and meagre education, who began in 1831 to publish a paper called the *Liberator*. In this he urged that all the slaves in the United States should be immediately set free. He declared that it would be better to have no Union at all than to have a Union with slavery in one section of it. He boldly asserted that slavery was a "sin against God and a crime against man," and that the Constitution, by giving it support, "was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."

To the South it seems that the abolition of slavery means economic ruin.

These startling views alarmed the Southern people. To them it seemed clear that the immediate abolition of slavery would bring about their economic ruin. This conviction was especially strong in the seven cotton states, where the growing of cotton had been made wonderfully profitable by the invention of the cotton-gin. Furthermore, the spinning-jenny and the power-loom greatly lowered the cost of making cotton goods and therefore increased the demand for them. Finding the production and sale of cotton so profitable and easy, the planters extended its culture to include the unplanted regions where, before the invention of the cotton-gin, it had not paid to raise cotton.

As an outcome of these changed conditions, cotton-planting was practically the sole industry of the seven states. Moreover, the planters there had a firm belief that they could not succeed in raising cotton except by the labor of negroes, and that the negroes would not work unless they were under the control of masters who had the authority to compel them to work. Convinced, therefore, that the choice for them lay between slavery and economic ruin, the cotton-planters regarded the abolition-

ists as their public enemies, and were so bent on punishing them that large rewards were offered in the South for their capture. The abolitionists, however, not discouraged by opposition, continued, by means of lectures, pamphlets, books, and newspapers, to extend their anti-slavery ideas among the people.

Even in the North the abolitionists meet with vigorous opposition.

There was at that time very little sympathy, even in the North, with Garrison's extreme views about immediate abolition. Many manufacturers and merchants feared that the setting free of the slaves would bring ruin to the South, and thus make it impossible to buy raw cotton in that section or to sell to the South finished goods of any kind. Moreover, the majority of Northern people believed that the slavery agitation could only result in stirring up sectional feeling, and might end in breaking up the Union. They did not support Garrison's view. To them a Union with slavery seemed better than no Union at all. For that reason the abolitionists were for a time disliked in the North quite as much as in the South, and in various parts of the North mobs and riots against them were common for some years.

So intense became the feeling and so determined the opposition to Garrison's teachings that he was attacked in the streets of Boston by a mob (1835). In its fury it almost tore the clothing from his body and dragged him through the streets before he could be rescued by the police. Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered in Illinois for printing an abolition newspaper (1837), and abolition speakers were often stoned at public meetings.

However, the anti-slavery movement spreads, supported by such men as Wendell Phillips and John Quincy Adams.

Yet in spite of the scorn and contempt heaped upon them both in the North and in the South, Garrison and his followers would not be silenced. They were like most reformers, extreme in their views and unwise in their methods; but they were right in their idea that slavery was wrong. Their sincerity at length won the sympathy of many who joined in forming abolition societies. By 1837 these societies included probably 150,000 members. Among them were Wendell Phillips, the anti-slavery orator, and John Quincy Adams, the anti-slavery statesman.

John Quincy Adams was the champion of the sacred right of petition. For many years in his opposition to slavery he stood almost alone in the national House of Representatives. On the floor of the House he presented hundreds of petitions that slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia, and that the slave-trade between the states be stopped. As these petitions were displeasing to Southern members, Congress voted not to receive them. This was not fair play and aroused much sympathy in the North for the abolition movement. Although for many years the House refused to receive these petitions, the heroic efforts of the "Old Man Eloquent," as Adams was called, at last gained for them due consideration (1844).

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Upon what did we base our claim to Oregon? Upon what was the British claim based? Discuss the relative merits of each claim. How, and upon what basis, was the Oregon difficulty settled?
2. What reason is assigned in the text for the origin of the anti-slavery movement? Previous to this time no question had been raised as to slavery in the South. Imagine yourself a Southern planter with many slaves, the freeing of which would mean your economic ruin. You are a good citizen and believe in state rights. Suppose you hear that Garrison and Lovejoy and others in the North are agitating for freeing the slaves immediately. Express your feeling in the matter in a letter to a Northern abolitionist.
3. How did opposition to the abolitionists express itself in the South? In the North? Did the agitation of the abolitionists leave any possibility for a peaceable solution to the slavery question? Is it possible slavery might have disappeared in the South as it had in the North, where paid labor was more profitable?
4. Do you think the abolitionists considered any of the practical difficulties of caring for the negroes after they were freed? You must try to understand economic conditions as they were as well as the great moral question of right and wrong in the crusade against slavery.
5. Discuss the principle of the right of petition as defended by Adams. Read the account of his untiring efforts as described in Morse's "John Quincy Adams."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 117–125; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 53–72; Morse, *John Quincy Adams;* Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, 269–278; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 301–309; Burgess, *The Middle Period*, chap. XI; Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison;* Powell, *Some Forgotten Heroes;* Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, 264, 279.

B. Annexation of Texas and the Mexican War

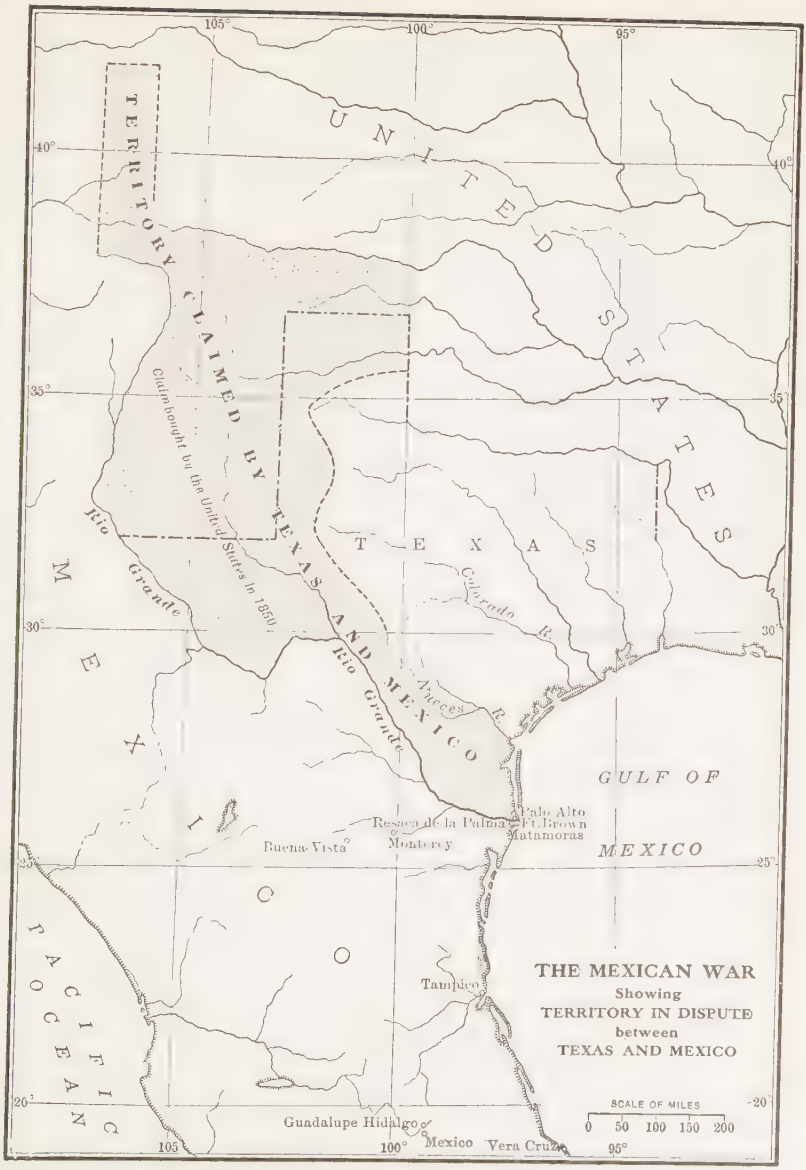
Why the South favors and the North opposes the annexation of Texas.

About 1820, Southern people, many of them slaveholding planters, began to migrate to Texas, then a part of Mexico, and by the year 1835 they had established several colonies. Being dissatisfied with Mexican rule, they revolted (1835), defeated the Mexicans, and drove them out of Texas. They then declared their independence and sought annexation to the United States.

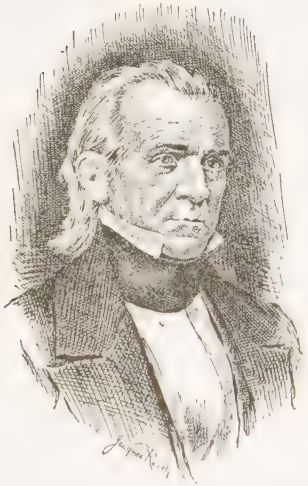
This was pleasing to the South, because Texas lay south of the slavery line established by the Missouri Compromise in 1820. If Texas, which was as large as fifty states of the size of Connecticut, could be added to the slave territory of the South, the cause of slavery would be materially strengthened. In time, four or five slave states could be made out of this vast area, and the South would thereby have a much larger number of senators. This increase of voting power in the Senate would enable her, even though outvoted in the House of Representatives, to maintain, for some years at least, the balance between the slave states and the free states. The Northern statesmen entered a vigorous protest. They believed that annexation would cause trouble with Mexico, which at first refused to acknowledge the independence of Texas. But this objection had little weight with the Southern slaveholders, because a war with Mexico might result in the acquisition of more slave territory. The North, however, earnestly opposed the acquisition of more slave territory, and just as earnestly opposed a war with Mexico. The South won and Texas entered the Union as a slave state in 1845.

The conflicting claims bring about the war with Mexico.

The annexation of Texas was deeply resented by the Mexican Government, although now, after a long delay, it was willing to recognize that state as an independent republic. But before any settlement could be made with Mexico a dispute arose about the boundary-line. Mexico claimed the territory to the Nueces River; Texas claimed it to the Rio Grande. The territory in dispute was large and therefore desired both by the South and by Mexico. While the diffi-


105°
100°
95°
40°
35°
30°
25°
20°
UNITED STATES
TERRITORY CLAIMED BY TEXAS AND MEXICO
Claim bought by the United States in 1850
TEXAS
MEXICO
Rio Grande
Rio Grande
Colorado R.
Nueces R.
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
Resaca de la Palma
Palo Alto
Ft. Brown
Matamoras
Buena Vista
Monterey
Tampico
Guadalupe Hidalgo
Mexico
Vera Cruz
THE MEXICAN WAR
Showing
TERRITORY IN DISPUTE
between
TEXAS AND MEXICO
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200

culty was still under discussion, President Polk[1] sent an envoy to Mexico to negotiate a treaty for the settlement of all differences between the two countries, but the Mexican Government refused to receive him. It was already concentrating troops at Matamoras, with the purpose, it was evident, of sending them across the Rio Grande, into the disputed territory.



JAMES K. POLK.

Our government did not remain inactive. General Zachary Taylor, who had been sent down in command of American troops to support the cause of Texas, was ordered to occupy the disputed territory. He took a position on the Rio Grande at Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras. The Mexicans considered this an invasion of their territory, and made an attack upon some American dragoons belonging to a reconnoitering party. President Polk at once sent to Congress a message in which he declared: "War exists notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself. Mexico has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." Congress therefore declared that war existed "by the act of Mexico," and at once ordered troops to invade Mexican territory (1846).

The American plan of campaign was comprehensive. It indicated, so many thought, that the purpose of the war was the conquest of new territory. Although meeting with stout opposition, the American commanders easily carried out their plans. The war was one-sided. All the battles were won by the

[1] James K. Polk, eleventh President of the United States (1845-1849), was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, in 1795, and died in 1849. In 1806 he removed to Tennessee. After being graduated with distinguished honors from the University of North Carolina, he entered upon the study of law. He served the State of Tennessee not only as governor but as member of the national House of Representatives. His habits were simple, and his private life sincere and blameless.

Americans, even in cases where our troops were greatly outnumbered. In less than two years Mexico was conquered, and her entire territory was at the mercy of the United States.

There were many reasons for the defeat of the Mexicans. Their government was weak and poor; their generals were inefficient; their troops were without discipline and proper equipment. They fought bravely but were inferior to the Americans in intelligence, dash, and endurance.

Results of the war lead to the Wilmot Proviso.

Although at the close of the war Mexico was helpless, our government paid more than $18,000,000[1] for the cession[2] of territory made to the United States. The results of the war seemed decidedly favorable to the slaveholders, who thought they had acquired a vast region adapted to the use of slave labor. If we include in the territory acquired by the Mexican War the State of Texas and the parts of Arizona and New Mexico secured by the Gadsden Purchase[3] a little later, the whole area is equal to more than 190 states of the size of Connecticut.

Apart from the acquisition of territory, there was another result of the war which proved costly to the United States, namely, the growing unfriendliness between the two sections over the slavery question. The South insisted that slavery should go into the new territory; the North insisted that it should not. In fact, this quarrel over the question of slavery in the new territory began even before the war was over. In 1846, when it seemed evident what the result of the fighting would be, David Wilmot, a representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, proposed that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the territory which should be acquired from Mexico. This was

[1] The sum paid to Mexico was $15,000,000. The United States also satisfied claims of American citizens against Mexico to the amount of about $3,500,000.

[2] By consulting the map you will observe that the cession included what is now California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico.

[3] In 1853 a treaty was negotiated through James Gadsden which settled the disputed boundary with Mexico. The United States paid $10,000,000 and gained the Mesilla Valley, an area of about twenty million acres, or more than six times the size of Connecticut. It formed the southern part of what is now New Mexico and Arizona, and became known as the Gadsden Purchase.

called the Wilmot Proviso. It failed of enactment by Congress, but it expressed a policy which was soon to be made a guiding principle by a great political party. Two years later this principle became the political watchword of the Free Soil party and later of the Republican party. The Wilmot Proviso marked the swift approach of the downfall of slavery in the United States.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Explain the attitude of the North and the South toward the Mexican War. What were its causes and results?
2. Do you think President Polk was justified in going to war with Mexico and in acquiring so vast a territory from her through conquest? Discuss the question in connection with the Monroe Doctrine.
3. Discuss the development, peace, and prosperity of the territory thus acquired as part of the United States; on the other hand, what it might have been as part of Mexico.
4. Many of our leading statesmen claimed that Texas and California lay in the path of our "manifest destiny," i. e., in the path of our inevitable growth westward.
5. Ponder this statement from Calhoun: "It would be vain to expect that we could prevent our people from penetrating into California. . . . We alone can people [this region] with an industrious and civilized race." Also this from Senator Benton: "We want . . . the Texas of La Salle . . . for great natural reasons obvious as day and permanent as Nature."
6. Including Texas and the Gadsden Purchase, how many states of the size of your own would the whole territory acquired in the Mexican War equal?
7. Imagine yourself a rich slave-owner in 1845, and write a letter in which you advocate the annexation of Texas.
8. Read Walker's "The Making of the Nation" for a discriminating account of the events leading up to the Mexican War.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 314–350; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 133–156; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 87–98; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 438–453; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, chaps. XIII, XIV; Burgess, *The Middle Period*, chaps. XIII, XIV, XVI; Powell, *Some Forgotten Heroes;* Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 310, 323.

FICTION AND POETRY: Barr, *Remember the Alamo;* Munroe, *With Crockett and Bowie;* Lowell, *The Biglow Papers;* Whittier, *The Angel of Buena Vista;* O'Hara, *The Bivouac of the Dead;* Miller, *The Defense of the Alamo.*

C. *The Mexican Cession and the Compromise of 1850*

Discovery of gold in California turns the eyes of an excited people to the unexplored, untravelled West.

Following closely upon the Mexican War came the discovery of gold in California.[1] The event was of great significance both in itself and also in its bearing on the Mexican cession and the slavery question.

SUTTER'S MILL, WHERE GOLD WAS FIRST FOUND IN CALIFORNIA.

This region had been valued for its fertile soil and delightful climate. It had also the fine harbor of San Francisco. These attractions drew a few settlers, who in 1848 made a wonderful discovery. Some workmen, in digging a mill-race for Captain Sutter, a Swiss emigrant, discovered shining particles of gold in a stream flowing into the Sacramento River, about one hundred miles northeast of San Francisco. Upon examination of the surrounding country the soil, the river-beds, and the rocks were found to be rich in gold. Before the close of 1861 these newly discovered mines had yielded more than $500,000,000.

As soon as the news spread abroad, people were greatly excited and rushed to California from all parts of the United States. Farmers, professional men, mechanics, tradesmen, all classes, were seized with a sudden desire for wealth, and left their work to seek it in the gold fields. Vessels entering the harbors of San Francisco were deserted by their crews, who rushed with pickaxe and shovel to the mines.

From the Eastern states there were three routes to California: the first and longest was by vessel around Cape Horn, the trip from New York to San Francisco in 1848 taking about one hun-

[1] The people living in California at this time were mostly Spaniards and Mexicans. They made their living by raising cattle.

dred and thirty days; the second was by way of the Isthmus of Panama; the third was overland across the country by slowly moving trains of wagons and ox-carts. This last route required about one hundred days after reaching the plains west of the Mississippi.

The difficulties and dangers on the plains and in the desert regions were many. As we have before had occasion to notice,

THE GOLD RUSH—EARLY SETTLERS CROSSING THE PLAINS.
From a drawing by Harvey Dunn.

there was danger not only from Indians, who often attacked the emigrants, but also from disease, occasioned by hardship and exposure. Thousands died on the way, and bones of human beings, horses, and oxen, lay strewn along the route. The Mormon settlements near the Great Salt Lake offered a refuge to many, where they could rest in safety and procure fresh supplies, but beyond this point there was still a long journey.

Yet in spite of the hardships, large numbers flocked to the gold region. In less than eighteen months after gold was discovered California had a population of about 100,000. San Francisco increased from 2,000 to 20,000 people, and Sacramento from a little cluster of houses to a city of 10,000 inhabitants. The discovery of gold in California had several results worth

©*Ewing Galloway.*

ABOVE IS A REPRODUCTION OF AN OLD PRINT OF SAN FRANCISCO AS IT WAS IN 1849. BELOW, A PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING A BIT OF THE WATER-FRONT REBUILT SINCE THE FIRE OF 1906.

noting: (1) By greatly increasing the gold in circulation, it stimulated trade and commerce; (2) by developing the Pacific coast, it led about twenty years later to the building of the first Pacific railroad; (3) it had, as we shall now see, an important bearing upon the slavery question.

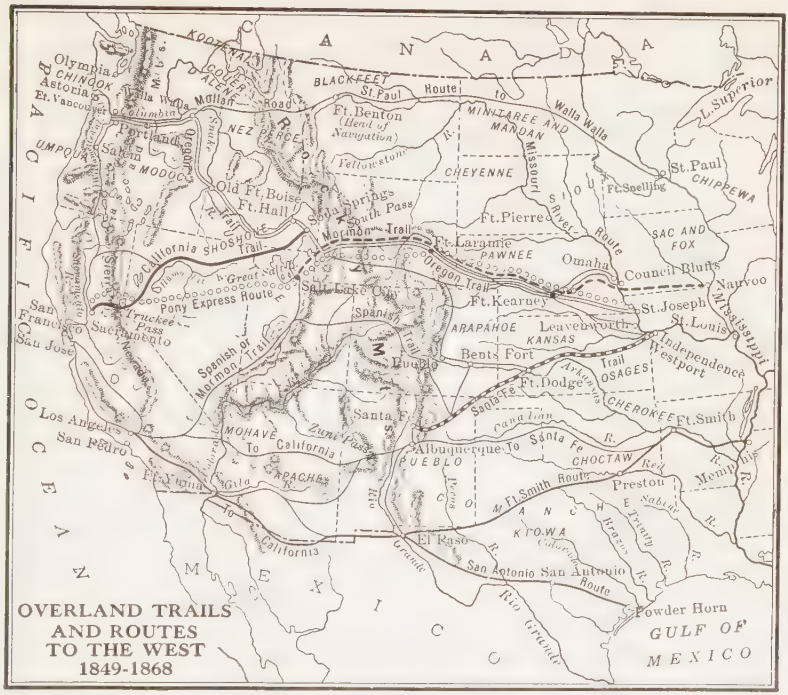
California seeks admission to the Union as a free state.[1]

In about a year there were people enough in California to organize a state, but Congress had been so occupied discussing the slavery question that it had not established any form of government there. Among the gold-diggers were disorderly and lawless men, who took advantage of the almost chaotic conditions. Angry disputes arose over mining claims; ruffians united to form bands of robbers; murders were frequent; and when disturbers of the peace were imprisoned there was constant fear that a mob might release them. To establish order, the better class of citizens were forced to act without waiting for Congress. They organized a government of their own, and applied for admission into the Union in 1849. As nearly all of the "Forty-niners," as these thousands of gold-seekers were called, were from the North, they wished California to be made a free state.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

[1] It was in the same year that Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States (1849-1850), took up the duties of the presidency. He was born in Orange County, Virginia, in 1784, and died in 1850. While he was yet an infant his parents removed to Kentucky, which continued to be his adopted state until 1841, when he made his family home in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Although his opportunities for education were limited, his keen desire for knowledge led him to study ancient and modern history. He became a daring and skilful soldier, serving his country with great distinction as brigadier-general in the Mexican War. "Old Rough and Ready," as he was fondly called by his many admirers, indicates that he was a popular hero. He died in the second year of his presidency.

Millard Fillmore, thirteenth President of the United States (1850–1853), was born in Cayuga County, New York, in 1800, and died in 1874. In early youth he learned the meaning of a life of struggle. Until fourteen years of age he worked on a farm nine months of the year, and attended the primitive schools of those times the remaining three. At fourteen he was apprenticed to a trade, but managed to find some time for study. Later he studied law, and won for himself an enviable position at the bar. Having been elected Vice-President in 1848, he became President on the death of Zachary Taylor in 1850. His kindly manner and never-failing courtesy made him very popular.



Shall the territory acquired from Mexico be slave or free? A grave question.

It will be remembered that the Missouri Compromise was brought about by the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. The whole question of slavery was renewed by the Mexican cession, and now the application of California to come into the Union increased the agitation. The question before Congress was: Should the territory acquired from Mexico be slave or free? The North argued that since it had always been free, it should continue to be free. The South was divided in opinion. Some of the Southerners wished to extend the line of the Missouri Compromise, 36° 30′, as a boundary, to the Pacific. Others claimed, as in 1820, that Congress had no constitutional right to interfere with slavery, and that the people in the territories ought to be allowed to decide for themselves whether they should come into the Union as free or as slave states.

The issue was a grave one. There were several questions in dispute: (1) California wished to come in as a free state, but in that case the balance of power in the Senate would be disturbed. Hence there were strong objections from the South. (2) The anti-slavery men continued to urge upon Congress legislation that would abolish slavery, or, at least, the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Whether or not Congress had a right to interfere with slavery in the territories, it clearly had a right to enact a measure against slavery in the District of Columbia, which was under the direct control of Congress. For years, as noted, John Quincy Adams had struggled bravely in behalf of legislative action against slavery in this district. (3) The South insistently complained that the North violated the Fugitive Slave Law, by aiding the escape of slaves from their masters to Canada. While these difficult questions were pressing for satisfactory answers, many people began to fear a dissolution of the Union. Threats of secession were freely made by some of the more ardent pro-slavery men. It was evident that prompt and wise measures must be taken to quiet the violent feelings among people in both sections.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Henry Clay provides for the Compromise of 1850 in his famous "Omnibus Bill."

Henry Clay had already fairly gained the title of "peacemaker" by taking a leading part in securing the Missouri Compromise in 1820, and again in the compromise in 1833, which adjusted the difficulties relating to the tariff and nullification in South Carolina. In his old age he was now called upon to help meet these new issues in 1850. He therefore prepared what was called the "Omnibus Bill," because it made provision for settling many questions.

This famous Omnibus Bill, or Compromise of 1850, contained

four essential clauses, two of which favored the North and two the South. They were as follows: (1) California was to be admitted as a free state (for the North); (2) but in the rest of the Mexican cession, divided into the two territories of Utah and New Mexico, the people were to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slaves (for the South); (3) the slave-trade, not slavery, was to be abolished in the District of Columbia (for the North); (4) but a vigorous and exacting Fugitive Slave Law was to be passed (for the South). Many people believed and others hoped that this compromise would bring peace and goodwill throughout the country.

The Fugitive Slave Law arouses the North and many Northern states pass Personal Liberty bills.

Congress had already directed that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 should be carried out by the various state governments. As the South charged that the Northern states were neglecting to enforce this law in a proper manner, the fugitive-slave clause was inserted in the Compromise of 1850. Accordingly, Congress passed a rigid Fugitive Slave Law, which was to be enforced not by state but by federal officers. By its provisions fugitive slaves, or negroes claimed as fugitive slaves, were to have no trial by jury and were not to be permitted to testify in their own defense. All citizens, if called upon, were required to aid the United States marshal in capturing runaway slaves.

Many cases of cruelty, injustice, and violence followed in the execution of this law, and the indignation of the North rose to fever-heat. Soon the "higher law" of right and justice was openly proclaimed, some people being willing to defy a law that was in their view cruel and inhuman.

The outcome of this intense opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law was the passage by many Northern states of the Personal Liberty laws, which granted trial by jury to runaway slaves and in other ways protected them from the severity of the Fugitive Slave Law. Naturally these laws embittered the Southern slaveholders, who accused the North of the intention of doing away with slavery. They further asserted that in passing them the Northern states were nullifying an act of Congress and violating the Constitution.

How the "Underground Railroad" operated.

It is true that there were people in the North who secretly aided the runaway slaves in escaping to Canada. The fugitives made their way to freedom by means of the so-called "Underground Railroad." The "stations" were the houses of persons who received the negroes at any hour, night

SLAVE QUARTERS ON A SOUTHERN PLANTATION.

or day, giving them food and shelter and keeping them in a safe hiding-place until they could be sent on to the next "station." Thus they were fed and cared for until they reached Canada, the northern end of this strange railroad. It is estimated that over 30,000 fugitive slaves escaped to Canada between 1830 and 1860.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" stirs the imagination of the North and arouses the indignation of the South.

In the midst of the heated political discussion about slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, was published. This vivid story of plantation life, setting forth concretely the evils of the system, was read eagerly in all parts of the United States and in Europe. During the first year after its publication more than 200,000 copies were sold. It not only appealed to the imagination as a story but it touched the heart and conscience of the reader.

Through its influence many men and women were moved to join the abolitionists in the conviction that slavery was a great moral evil.

Slaveholders, on the other hand, were indignant, because, they declared, the book put an unfair emphasis upon the dark side of slavery. They said that in the author's strong desire to represent the inhuman treatment which slaves sometimes suffered at the hands of cruel masters, she had not given a true impression of the institution as it really existed.

The South honestly believes in slavery.

With such opposing views of slavery held honestly by good men in different sections of the country, it will be well to review briefly the steps by which, on both sides, they had arrived at their firm convictions. When the Constitution was adopted many slaveholders—and they included such men as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison—were opposed to slavery. But by 1850 the Southern slaveholders had come to believe that the system of slave-labor was quite as good for the negroes as it was for the planters. In defending their belief, they advanced such arguments as the following: (1) They said the negroes in the South, living in close touch with a highly civilized group of white people, were in a much better condition than they would be as savages in Africa. (2) They declared that negro slaves were better treated even than the free working men in the mills and factories of Northern cities; "for when sickness, accident, or old age falls to the lot of the wage-earner in the North," declared Calhoun and other pro-slavery leaders, "he is allowed to shift

PRESENTING THE NEW MISTRESS TO THE SLAVES IN BEFORE-THE-WAR DAYS.
From a drawing by W. T. Smedley.

for himself in any way that he can. In the South kind masters look after the needy and helpless slaves, who are therefore treated less cruelly than the more unfortunate factory worker in the North."

The Southern view is presented.

We can better understand the planter's point of view when we consider the large part which slavery had come to play in the industrial and social life of the South. In 1850 the population of the fifteen slave states was about 9,000,000, of whom about 3,000,000 were slaves. There were nearly 350,000 slaveholders,[1] but only about 8,000 men owned over fifty slaves each, and nearly all of these lived in the seven cotton-producing states, where the work was done almost wholly by slave labor and on large plantations.

On all of the large plantations only one crop was cultivated, and that was cotton, rice, or sugar. A large supply of cheap labor, entirely at the command of the planters, was essential. Slavery satisfied the conditions. Having bought all the negroes he needed, the only other expense to the planter was their food, clothing, and shelter. The arrangement was simple, and in his opinion slavery was indispensable to the prosperity of the plantation system.

As a rule, no doubt, the slaves were kindly treated when their work was in the household, and even in the fields when they worked with their owner on a small farm, as was largely true in Virginia and the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In such cases the relation was personal, and a friendly feeling existed between the white man and his slave. However, the case was different on those large plantations where great gangs were in the charge of overseers. Here, in the absence of the plantation-owner, the overseer could treat the slaves as he pleased; and since his success was measured by the size of the crop at the end of the season, it was to his advantage to get as much work done as possible. In this way it happened that sometimes the black people were treated with inhuman cruelty. A worse evil still—an evil which many slave-owners tried to

[1] 68,820 held one slave each, and 105,683 held from two to five slaves each.

avoid—was the separation of families, husbands from wives and children from parents, when their masters sold them.

As slavery became more profitable on the large cotton plantations of the Far South, great numbers of negroes were bought from the slavery states farther north, Virginia, for instance. It is estimated that about 25,000 a year were bought for this purpose. The demand for slave-labor on the large plantations was so great between 1850 and 1860 that a good field-worker would sell for as much as $1,500. Selling slaves at auction became a common sight in several of the larger Southern cities, and it was this traffic in human beings as mere property that gave greatest offense in the North to those who opposed the system.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Trace on your map the three main routes to California from the Eastern States. Also trace the various routes across the plains from the Mississippi River. Which route would you have selected had you been going to California in 1849? Give reasons for your choice. What were the results of the discovery of gold?
2. Explain why California sought admission into the Union as a free state. Could slaves be used as successfully in gold-mining as in cotton-growing? How would Northern men be disposed toward a man owning twenty slaves working in competition with them?
3. In what way was the Missouri Compromise called forth by the Louisiana Purchase? What question was asked about the Mexican cession? How did the North answer the question? How did the South answer?
4. What two clauses in the Compromise of 1850 favored the North? What two the South? Did such compromises tend to settle the issue of slavery or to make it bigger?
5. What was the Fugitive Slave Law and what were its results? Explain the Personal Liberty laws and the Underground Railroad. What effect had "Uncle Tom's Cabin" upon the slavery question?
6. Read Thomas Nelson Page's "Old South" for a sympathetic picture of life in the "old South."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 123–132; Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 353–362, 387–406; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 27–57, 354–372; Eggleston, *Household History of the United States;* Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 336–350; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, chap. XVI; Burgess, *The Middle Period*, chap. XVII; Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard States.*

FICTION AND POETRY: Munroe, *Golden Days of Forty-Nine;* Irving, *Astoria;* Harte, *Tales of the Argonauts.*

D. The Status of Slavery in the Territories as Fixed by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the Dred Scott Decision

Kansas-Nebraska Bill gives authority over slavery in territories to the people therein— "squatter sovereignty."

By the Compromise of 1850 the people in all the territory acquired from Mexico, except California, were to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery. But this did not satisfy the South, whose need for a still further extension of slave territory to offset the rapidly growing power of the free states of the North became more pressing every year.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

In 1854 Stephen A. Douglas, Democratic senator from Illinois, claimed that the Compromise of 1850 had repealed the Missouri Compromise (see page 297); moreover, that Congress had no constitutional right to shut out slavery from the Louisiana Purchase. Therefore he proposed the erection of the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska, in which the settlers should decide whether they would have slavery or not. This measure, known as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill,[1] became a law in 1854.

This drastic law had far-reaching and demoralizing results: (1) It took from Congress all authority over slavery in the territories, and transferred it to the people, introducing the principle known as "squatter sovereignty"; (2) it opened to slavery all the territories belonging to the United States; (3) it led to a bitter struggle over Kansas; (4) and it opened again with renewed intensity the slavery controversy, which could never again be settled by peaceable means.

[1] The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed during the administration of Franklin Pierce, who was the fourteenth President of the United States (1853–1857). He was born in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, in 1804, and died in 1869. In his class at Bowdoin College, from which he was graduated, were Longfellow and

The North and the South struggle for supremacy in Kansas.

After the people had been given authority to decide the question of freedom or slavery in Kansas, both the North and the South made a desperate effort to gain control of that territory. Emigration was no longer a matter of private or personal interests. There were now urgent political reasons why emigration to Kansas should be encouraged from both sections. Accordingly, in the North the New England Emigrant Aid Society was formed to conduct companies of Free Soilers to Kansas and to aid them in making settlements. Soon long trains of emigrant wagons were winding their way across the prairies and a thriving New England town was established at Lawrence as a centre of influence.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

The South was at a disadvantage in the contest, because slaveholders did not wish to risk taking their slaves into a territory that might, by vote of the people, become free. They therefore did not make such an organized effort to settle Kansas as did the North, but the pro-slavery men made what hasty preparations they could to counteract what they called "an attempt to abolitionize Kansas with an army of hirelings and fanatics."

Since the slave states could not send sufficient settlers to outvote the Free Soilers, armed bands of "border ruffians," so-called, swarmed across into Kansas from Missouri for the election of members to the first territorial legislature. They were successful and a pro-slavery government was set up. The Free Soilers then refused to recognize the pro-slavery legislature and elected delegates who formed an anti-slavery government at Topeka.

Hawthorne, the latter being a lifelong friend and his biographer. Entering the army at the outbreak of the Mexican War, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. After serving in both houses of Congress he was elected to the presidency in 1852. Although he believed in state rights and opposed all anti-slavery movements, he urged the people of New Hampshire, in the stormy days following the attack upon Fort Sumter in 1861, to stand by the Union.

By 1856 two rival governments were thus established. The anti-slavery settlers were clearly in the majority, but President Pierce supported the pro-slavery faction and used the influence of the administration to secure the admission of Kansas into the Union as a slave state. In spite of all his efforts, however, and those of his successor, President Buchanan, and the pro-slavery leaders, the free-state men won a victory. After three years of strife and border raids (1855–1858), the state was admitted to the Union in 1861 with an anti-slavery constitution.

New political parties arise with the new issues.

By this time slavery had brought about great changes in the political parties, for it had become the dominant issue. In 1833 the National Republican party (see page 246) was succeeded by the Whig party and Henry Clay became its leader. This party opposed the Mexican War. At the close of the war many Northern Whigs and Democrats firmly believed in the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, that slavery should be prohibited in all the Mexican cession. They became anti-slavery men and, joining the abolitionists, formed the Free Soil party. But while many Northern Whigs became anti-slavery men, many pro-slavery Whigs in the South joined the Democrats. The result was the breaking up of the Whig party after 1852.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854) caused still another split in parties. All voters in the North who opposed the further extension of slavery, whether they had been previously known as Democrats or Free Soilers, called themselves Anti-Nebraska men. In the following year the Anti-Nebraska men began to be called the Republican party, and this name has been continued. The corner-stone of the Republican party was the principle contained in the Wilmot Proviso.

Commodore Perry secures a treaty of commerce with Japan.

While the problem of slavery was receiving so much attention, events far removed from our home shores were extending our relations with foreign lands. In 1854 Commodore Matthew C. Perry, in command of a fleet sailing westward in the Pacific, entered the Bay of Yedo in Japan. His arrival was unheralded, for up to that time the

Japanese, as an Oriental nation, had been suspicious of all foreign peoples, and had refused to have any dealings with them; but Commodore Perry won their good-will, and induced them to enter into a treaty of commerce with our country.[1] Since that time Japan has remained on a friendly footing with the

COMMODORE PERRY MEETING THE IMPERIAL COMMISSION AT YOKOHAMA.
From a lithograph in "Perry's Narrative."

United States and has dealt extensively with us. It was for her the beginning of a period of marvellous industrial and commercial progress. Through her trade relations, which rapidly developed with this country and Europe, she came into touch with Western civilization and surprised the world by the alertness with which she adopted new ideas.

Immigration increases on a large scale.

Another contact with foreign life was made through immigration, which, about the middle of the century, was beginning on a large scale. Before 1840 the number of immigrants coming to the United States during any one year never exceeded 100,000.

[1] Ten years earlier China had agreed to let our merchants trade in some of her ports.

A reference to the immigration table given below will show that from 1845 onward, especially after 1848, the increase was surprisingly great. This is accounted for by the fact that during almost the whole decade from 1840 to 1850 there was much unrest in Europe, which led to political disturbances extending through many European countries. In 1848 a revolution broke out in Germany for the purpose of putting down government by kings, princes, and nobles, and establishing government by the people. When this revolution failed, many of its leaders were thrown into prison, shot, or banished. Thousands fled to America. In the four years between 1846 and 1850 it is estimated that 1,000,000 Germans emigrated to this country.

TABLE OF IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE FOR THE YEARS 1845–1856

Year	Number of Immigrants	Year	Number of Immigrants
1845	114,371	1851	379,466
1846	154,416	1852	371,603
1847	234,968	1853	368,645
1848	226,527	1854	427,833
1849	294,024	1855	200,877
1850	310,004	1856	200,436

About the same time a large number of Irish came to the United States, following an almost total failure of the potato-crop in Ireland in 1846. As between a third and a half of the people depended upon potatoes for food, there had been a wasting famine. Before the end of two years nearly 1,000,000 had perished, and tens of thousands had sailed for the United States. According to the census of 1850 there were in our country nearly 1,000,000 Irish, and most of them made their homes in the coast cities of the North and the East. But by far the larger number of other immigrants from Europe joined the westward movement, thereby increasing the populations in the new states and territories. People from many nations sought homes here, attracted not only by the free government but by the abundance of cheap land, light taxes, and plenty of work. The discovery of gold in California was another magnet drawing people to our shores.

TABLE OF POPULATION IN WESTERN STATES AND TERRITORIES IN 1840, 1850, AND 1860

States	Population		
	1840	1850	1860
Illinois	472,254	846,034	1,704,323
Indiana	478,698	977,154	1,339,000
Iowa	42,924	191,881	673,844
Michigan	211,560	395,071	742,314
Wisconsin	30,749	304,756	774,710
California	.....	91,636	361,353
Minnesota	.....	6,038	171,864
Utah	.....	11,354	40,214
Colorado	.....	.....	34,231
Kansas	.....	.....	106,579
Nebraska	.....	.....	28,759
Oregon	.....	.....	52,337

It is significant that most of the immigrants sought the North rather than the South. Many liked the climate of the North better, and found there a greater variety of work than was possible on the large plantations. Others avoided the South because in that section labor was considered servile and degrading for the white man. In fact, slaveholders did not encourage European immigrants to come to the South, because free white laborers were not needed and besides their presence might make the slaves discontented and lead to insurrection.

For a number of reasons the South does not keep pace with the North in industrial prosperity.

As immigration went elsewhere, the South lost the possible increase of population that might have come in that way, and so the development of its natural resources was held back. Within its own boundaries there were reasons which explain why the South did not keep pace with the North in industrial prosperity: (1) The negroes, ignorant and often lazy, did not work so industriously as free and intelligent white men dependent upon their own efforts. (2) Since slavery degraded labor, most of that large class of people in the South known as poor whites would not work more than they were obliged to. They could not be counted in the producing class. (3) The

plantation-owners, for the most part, spent very much of their time in leisure, leaving their crop-raising in charge of overseers. The South was at that time lacking in a thrifty, industrious middle class. Moreover, by failing to adopt the system of crop rotation and the use of fertilizers, the planters wore out the land and had to keep seeking new fields for their crops.

The South not only wasted the land but neglected its enormous natural resources. Depending almost exclusively upon agriculture, it made little use of the vast regions of timber, of coal and iron deposits, or of its rivers, which could supply excellent water-power for mills and factories along their banks.

The North prospers industrially.

While in the main an atmosphere of leisure prevailed in the South, in the North there was the hum of industry. Labor was honorable and idlers were few. Most persons belonged to the producing class, and a spirit of enterprise showed itself in agriculture, manufacture, trade, and commerce. Moreover, with a system of intelligent free labor, the North profited by inventions in agriculture and industry and was progressive. These points of difference explain in large measure why the North outstripped the South in wealth, prosperity, and political power.

In the West the feeling of nationalism grows strong.

If we examine the tables of population in some of the Western states and territories from 1840 to 1850, and from 1850 to 1860, we shall see that the increase was continuous and very great. This was not all due to foreign immigration. Much was the result of the large movement of population from the Eastern states. The prairie-lands, so fertile and so easily brought under cultivation, invited men to begin life anew where natural conditions highly favored prosperity. Railroads encouraged the movement by making transportation of emigrants and goods easy, rapid, and inexpensive.

It is worth noting that only a small part of this westward emigration was from the South. Since most of it came from Northern and Eastern states, the people were not in sympathy with the slaveholding planter. Moreover, when the Westerners wished to find a market for their corn, wheat, and other produce, they traded with the North more especially, because the

North had what they wanted to buy and there was mutual profit in the trade. With common interests the North and the West soon found themselves with common sympathies and common political aims and purposes.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Year by year the West became more closely identified with the North, in her loyalty to the Union. Having received statehood from the national government, the Westerners had little of the state rights feeling so common in the South. They were, first of all, Americans, ready to stand for the preservation of the Union. Many Southern people had gone into the West, and when they reached that section they found men from various parts of the Union. They gradually adapted themselves to their new surroundings and in the course of years became strong for the Union in thought, and Western in manner of life. It was but natural, then, that when the clash of arms between the North and the South came in 1861, the Westerner shouldered his musket in behalf of a Union which he had unconsciously helped to weld into an indivisible nation.

The panic of 1857 causes a check to prosperity.

An unfortunate feature of this successful development of the West was another period of speculation which, like that of the thirties, ended in a disastrous panic. Men expected through the purchase of Western lands to make great fortunes. Banks loaned money freely. Railroads were built faster than they could get business. Besides, the discovery of gold in California and Australia had increased the money in circulation and thus had contributed to the general feeling of prosperity. Extravagance in living followed. Trade was stimulated and soon there was an overproduction of goods. But too much business had been transacted on credit, and that brought on a panic. In August, 1857, the crash came and everywhere there was business distress.

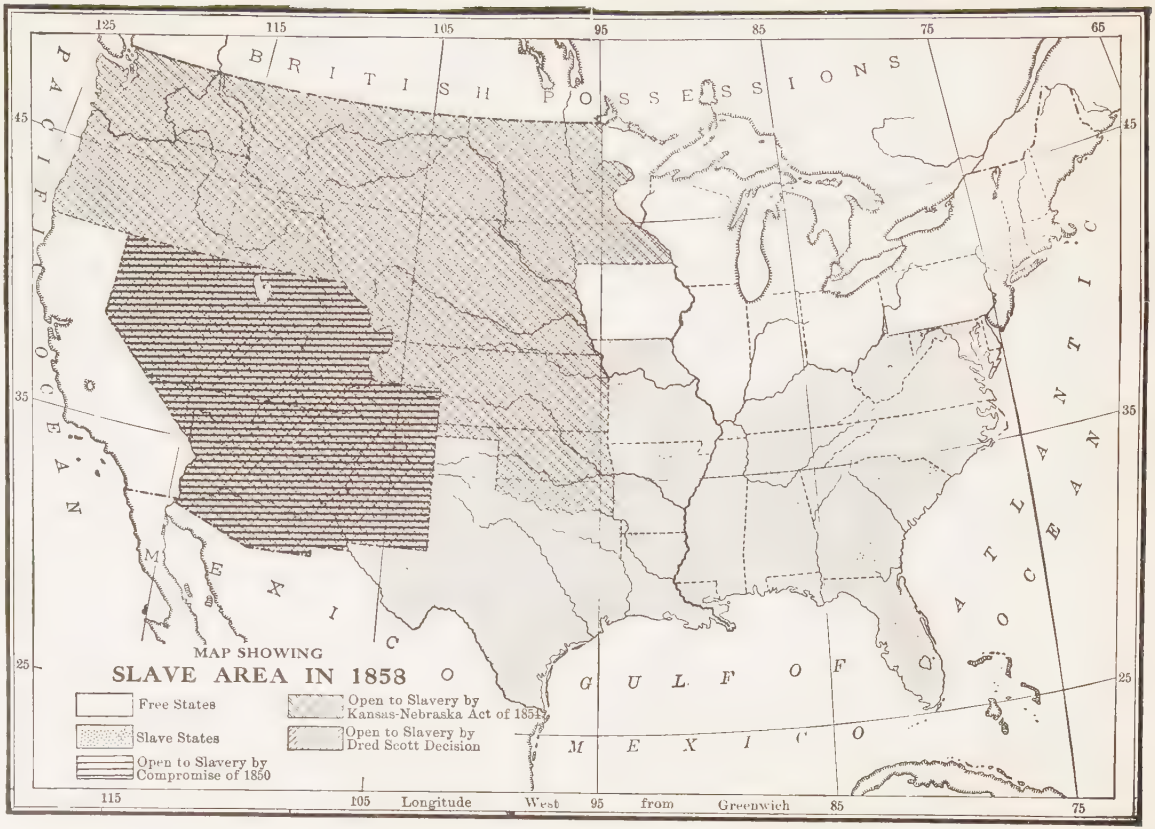
The Dred Scott Decision opens all territories, even free states, to slavery: another step in the conflict.

The year of the panic was marked by another step in the advancing conflict over slavery. It was the Dred Scott Decision.[1] The Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854) had deprived Congress of all authority over the question of slavery in the territories and had left it wholly in the hands of the people. There followed a deadly struggle between the North and the South, for control. It was evident that the North, with greatly superior resources, would win in other territories just as it had in Kansas.

Dismayed at the prospect, the South tried to find some means of changing the apparently hopeless situation. A weapon was created in the Dred Scott Decision (1857). Dred Scott was a slave belonging to an army surgeon. In 1834 this surgeon went with his slave from Missouri to Illinois, and some years afterward to Minnesota Territory. On the return of master and slave to Missouri, Dred Scott claimed that, inasmuch as he had been taken by his owner into free territory, he himself was a free man. The case was finally tried in the Supreme Court of the United States, and the decision supported the position of the pro-slavery men.

It declared in effect (1) that a slave, according to the Constitution, was not a person but a chattel or mere piece of property; (2) that the Missouri Compromise, forbidding slavery in a part of the Louisiana Purchase, was unconstitutional, since Congress had no right to interfere with slavery in the territories; (3) and that a master had as much right to take his slave with him into a free state as he had to take his horse, his cow, or any other kind of personal property. This decision was far-reaching. It meant nothing less than the extension of slavery into

[1] This noted decision was made public in the first year of Buchanan's administration. James Buchanan, fifteenth President of the United States (1857–1861), was born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1791, and died in 1868. After his graduation from Dickinson College he studied law. He filled many public positions of great responsibility. Besides serving in both houses of Congress, he became secretary of state under President Polk and minister to England in Pierce's administration. As President of the United States during the trying years just preceding the Civil War, he was severely blamed by the Unionists because he did not take a firm stand in opposition to the secession movement.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BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
MAP SHOWING
SLAVE AREA IN 1858
Free States
Slave States
Open to Slavery by Compromise of 1850
Open to Slavery by Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854
Open to Slavery by Dred Scott Decision
115
105
Longitude West
95
from Greenwich
85
75

all the territories. It intensified the anti-slavery feeling in the North, where many threatened that they would not obey the decision.

The words of Lincoln on his nomination for the United States Senate startle the South.

In the midst of the excitement over the Dred Scott Decision, Abraham Lincoln was nominated by the Republican party in Illinois for the United States Senate. In accepting the nomination, he gave expression to his convictions regarding slavery. He said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot exist permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

GREETING LINCOLN; AN INCIDENT OF THE LINCOLN DOUGLAS DEBATE.

This fearless and open declaration by a candidate for the United States Senate startled the South. The words were fraught with deep meaning, for they showed clearly that Lincoln would strongly oppose the extension of slavery into the new states; and they indicated his belief that in time slavery would be abolished.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates assume national importance.

Stephen A. Douglas was the Democratic nominee for the Senate, and Lincoln challenged him to a series of debates in order to discuss the question of slavery thoroughly. The challenge was accepted. The debates which followed became famous. No halls were large enough to hold all the people who flocked to hear them. They were held in the afternoons, in the open air under the trees or in the prairie-

fields, before audiences of from 5,000 to 20,000, and containing women as well as men. In his clear, simple style, and with persuasive power, Lincoln was quite a match for his able opponent. He argued that slavery was wrong, and he vigorously opposed its extension into new states. Finally, he put this question to Douglas: "Can the people of the territory, in any lawful way, keep slavery out of its limits before they seek admission as a state into the Union?" "If they oppose slavery," Douglas replied, "they can keep it out of their territory by unfriendly legislation." As this statement repudiated the Dred Scott Decision, which had established the right of slaveholders to retain ownership of their slaves in any state of the Union, it was resented by the Southern people.

As a consequence, although Douglas held the vote of the Northern Democrats and won his election as senator from Illinois, he at the same time estranged the South and lost their support in the campaign which followed his nomination for President (1860). Lincoln, on the other hand, lost his election to the Senate, but became well and favorably known, not only in Illinois but also in other parts of the country.

John Brown plans to free the slaves.

About this time a thoroughgoing abolitionist, John Brown, who took a prominent part in the struggle for Kansas, came into general notice. He had a rugged, intense nature, a strong will, and he was deeply religious. His mind had dwelt so long on slavery that he imagined himself to be an instrument in God's hands to put an end to it. His plan was to aid the slaves in escaping to the mountains of Virginia, which would become a rallying-place for the negroes, and there to arm them against their masters. With this purpose in mind, in the autumn of 1859, accompanied by about twenty followers, he seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. His effort ended in disastrous failure. He was captured, brought to a speedy trial, and hanged. Throughout his trial he was calm and dignified, and he died bravely.

The South was alarmed and angered by his deliberate attempt to stir up a general uprising of the slaves. They believed that there was a wide-spread plot. A large majority of the

Northern people also condemned it as a futile and ill-considered measure. But its result was to increase the misunderstanding and widen the breach between the two sections of the country. The irrepressible conflict was now at hand.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. How did the Kansas-Nebraska Bill differ from the Missouri Compromise? What important results did it have? What struggle did the North and South make to get hold of Kansas? You can easily see how such a struggle would stir up bitter feelings in the people of the North and the South. Explain why the Whig party ceased to exist.
2. Note that the "Anti-Nebraska men" banded together on the one issue—that there should be no further extension of slavery. These men, standing on the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, began to call their following the Republican party. The fight all along, except in the case of the abolitionists, was about the extension of slavery into the new states.
3. Why did immigrants settle in the North rather than in the South? Give three reasons why the South fell behind the North in prosperity.
4. Account for the friendly relations between the North and the West, and for the Western attitude toward slavery and the Union.
5. Before taking up the Dred Scott Decision review the following topics: The Ordinance of 1787; boundary-line between the free and the slave states before the purchase of Louisiana; the Missouri Compromise (1820); the Compromise of 1850; the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854).
6. Why was the South jubilant over the Dred Scott Decision? What privileges did it give slave-owners in the territories and even in free states? How did this decision conflict with the right given people in the territory to decide as to slavery in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? What were the far-reaching results of this decision?
7. Explain what Lincoln meant by saying that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Do you think he was right?
8. Read Tarbell's "Abraham Lincoln" for a vivid account of the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, 143–158; Rhodes, *History of the United States;* Carl Schurz, *Abraham Lincoln;* Gordy, *Abraham Lincoln*, 89–106; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 182–193; Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 427–434, 460–467; Sparks, *The Men Who Made the Nation;* Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 468–472, 485–504; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 351–365; Burgess, *The Middle Period*, chaps. XVIII–XXI.

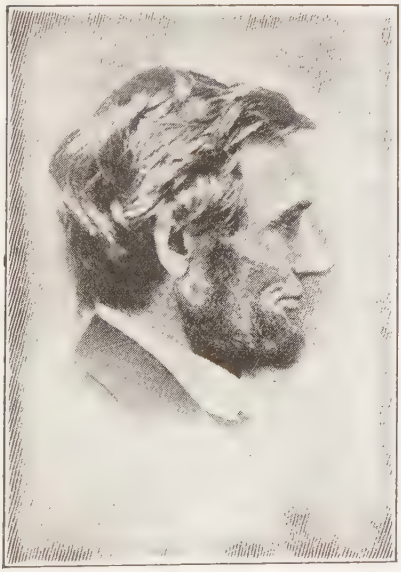
FICTION AND POETRY: Harris, *Free Joe;* Page, *The Old South* and *Red Rock;* Bacheller, *A Man of the Ages;* Eggleston, *Two Gentlemen of Virginia;* Whittier, *The Kansas Emigrants.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE CIVIL WAR SETTLES THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY AND OF SECESSION (1860–1865)

A. Secession and War Immediately Follow the Election of Lincoln

We have followed thirty years of angry controversy between the North and the South over the issue of slavery. Various compromises served only to postpone the inevitable settlement by force of arms. By 1860 the question of slavery had caused a split in the Democratic party. The Northern Democrats believed in the principle of popular sovereignty, which allowed the people in the territories to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slaves. The Southern Democrats declared that the Constitution imposed upon Congress the duty of protecting slavery in the territories, and the Dred Scott Decision supported their view. The Republican party declared that the Constitution imposed upon Congress the duty of forbidding slavery in the territories and repudiated the Dred Scott Decision. This party did not at that time favor the abolition of slavery. The great political issue, therefore, in the campaign of 1860 was the extension of slavery into the territories. The North-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ern Democrats nominated for President Stephen A. Douglas, the Southern Democrats John C. Breckinridge, and the Republicans Abraham Lincoln. As the Democratic vote was divided, the Republicans elected their candidate.

The new President, Abraham Lincoln, becomes a great leader.[1]

The new President was one of the most remarkable men that any country has produced. He grew up in the pioneer region of the new West, where he developed into a youth of manly character. His educational advantages were few, but his clear thinking and good judgment marked him as a leader in his community, and he was trusted by all who knew him. Although he went to school less than a year and his opportunities for reading were limited, he was patient and persevering in his search after knowledge, and gradually earned a wide reputation as a debater and public speaker. His keen sense of humor and his ability to tell a good story gave him rare power in winning men to his views. This power, combined with his other qualities, made him a great leader in the affairs of the nation.

South Carolina passes the Ordinance of Secession.

South Carolina had given warning that she would withdraw from the Union if Lincoln should be elected. Accordingly, on December 20, 1860, through a state convention, she passed the Ordinance of Secession. The Southern leaders did not closely discriminate between abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown, and Republicans like Seward and Lincoln who wished to pre-

[1] Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States (1861–1865), was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809, and died at the hands of an assassin in 1865. His father removed to Indiana when his son was only seven years of age, and later to Illinois. Lincoln served as captain in the war with the Black Hawk Indians and later as a member of the Illinois state legislature. In 1837 he began to practise law and soon became distinguished for his ability as a lawyer. In 1847–1849 he served as representative in Congress. He first attracted special attention, however, by his able speech in reply to Stephen A. Douglas on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This speech and his great reputation led to his nomination by the Republicans in 1858 for the United States senatorship. Douglas was nominated by the Democrats. The contest was a memorable one. Although Douglas secured the election, Lincoln's able debating with Douglas led to his nomination for the presidency in 1860.

UNITED STATES IN 1861
SHOWING
FIRST AND SECOND SECESSION AREAS
and the Four Slave States that did not secede.
Union Free States
Union Slave holding States
States seceded before April 15, 1861
States seceded after April 15, 1861
Territories controlled by the Federal Government
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude
WASHINGTON TERRITORY
OREGON
NEVADA TERRITORY
UTAH TERRITORY
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
COLORADO TERRITORY
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
DAKOTA TERRITORY
CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Vancouver
New Westminster
Victoria
Seattle
Olympia
Portland
Columbia R.
Boise City
Great Salt Lake
Ogden
Salt Lake City
Virginia City
Carson City
San Francisco
Los Angeles
San Diego
Colorado R.
Santa Fe
Phenix
Tucson
El Paso
Chihuahua
Monterey
Durango
Calgary
Regina
Ft. Buford
Missouri R.
Helena
Butte
Yellowstone R.
Bismarck
Pierre
Cheyenne
Denver
Leadville
Platte R.

O F
C A N A D A
Lake of the Woods
Lake St. John
Quebec
St. Lawrence R.
Hudson's Bay
Albany R.
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Champlain
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipeg

vent the extension of slavery into new states. When Lincoln was elected President, therefore, they recalled what he had said regarding a house divided against itself, and believed that under a President with such views the slave states would thrive better out of the Union than in it. Like Calhoun, Southern leaders in general were more attached to their states than to the Union. And, since they held that a state had sovereign power, they also held that it could withdraw, or secede, from the Union when it chose.

The North believed, as Webster had declared (1830), that the Constitution was not a compact between sovereign states, but the fundamental law of the nation; that the Union was "now and forever one and inseparable." With the South the state was first and the Union second; with the North the Union was first, and no state could secede from the Union against the will of the other states. According to the latter view peaceable secession, as Webster said (1850), was impossible. When, therefore, South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Secession she gave the signal for a terrible conflict in which the life of the nation was deliberately threatened.

The principal steps toward Civil War.

The following were the principal steps in the disagreement[1] leading up to the Civil War between the North and the South. By reason of an unfavorable soil and climate, slavery did not pay in the North, while it seemed to pay in the South. As the moral sentiment against slavery increased in the North, the South saw that the interests of the slaveholder demanded an extension of slavery into new states. The North objected. This disagreement arrayed the sections against each other.

Finally, the Southern political leaders declared that, since the states were nations with sovereign power, they had a perfect right not only to secede from the Union, but to erect a confederacy. When eleven of the fifteen slave states tried to break up the Union by secession, the free states were determined to preserve the Union, and the result was the Civil War.

Within six weeks after the secession of South Carolina the

[1] Of course the two sections had long disagreed on the tariff question also. But we have already seen how slavery led to this disagreement.

six other cotton states—Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas—had seceded.[1] These states naturally withdrew first, because slave-labor there was more profitable than in other parts of the South. On February 4, 1861, delegates from all these states except Texas met at Montgomery,[2] Alabama, and organized the "Confederate States of America." Jefferson Davis,[3] of Mississippi, was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens,[4] of Georgia, Vice-President.

Advantages of the North. The North and the South were more evenly matched for the war than is sometimes supposed. The advantages of the North were: (1) She had a population of 23,000,000, while the seceding states had but 9,000,000, three and a half millions of whom were slaves. (2) She had many factories, by means of which the necessary military supplies could be furnished to Union armies. The South had to get most of her military supplies from abroad.[5]

[1] The South was disappointed because some of the slave states did not secede and because the Northern people were so united. The secessionists did not expect the cause to meet with such firm opposition throughout the North.

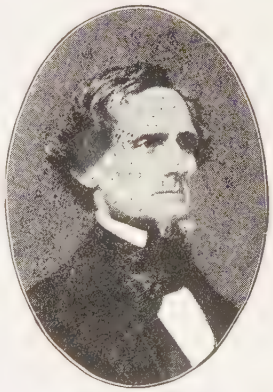
[2] The Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia, on May 20, 1861.

[3] Jefferson Davis was born in Kentucky in 1808, and died in 1889. After graduating from West Point (1828) he served in the army for some years and then became a cotton-planter in Mississippi. He took his seat in Congress in 1845, but again entered the army on the outbreak of the Mexican War. He distinguished himself for bravery in this war, receiving a severe wound at the battle of Buena Vista. He represented his state (Mississippi) in the United States Senate in 1847–1851, and was secretary of war under President Pierce. He again entered the Senate in 1857, and there remained until the beginning of the Civil War, when he resigned. He was elected President of the Southern Confederacy, and remained in that office until the end of the war.

[4] Alexander H. Stephens was born near Crawfordsville, Georgia, in 1812, and died in 1883. After graduating from the state university at the head of his class, he studied law and soon began his long political career by securing an election to the state legislature. As a representative in Congress for sixteen years, 1843–1859, he proved himself to be a statesman of conspicuous ability. In 1860 he vigorously opposed secession, but when Georgia seceded "he went with his state." He was elected Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy and continued in that position throughout the Civil War. The year before his death he was elected governor of Georgia.

[5] Not until the war was half over did the Confederacy succeed in building and equipping the factories necessary for supplying its troops with guns and ammunition.

(3) The North had a navy that gave her command of the sea, while the South, by withdrawing from the Union, was without a navy or a merchant marine. Moreover, having put nearly all her man-power into the cultivation of rice, cotton, sugar, and tobacco, she had few trained sailors. Her extensive seacoast and large rivers were, therefore, open to attack from Northern vessels. (4) The North had also a greater number of able business men and far more wealth than the South. The industrial system of the North had developed men of the highest executive ability in business.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Advantages of the South. The South had the following advantages: (1) Fighting on the defensive, on her own soil, she needed fewer soldiers. Generally she could select her own positions behind breastworks, and could fight near her base of supplies, while many Northern troops were required to garrison strategic points that had been captured in the South. Before the war had closed, a large proportion of the Union soldiers were guarding conquered territory. (2) At the beginning of the war the South had most of the experienced generals. (3) Moreover, the Southern people, almost exclusively devoted to the outdoor life of agricultural pursuits, were well prepared to endure the severe physical strain demanded of a soldier in time of war. (4) The Southern troops were accustomed to the woods, and much of the fighting took place in the woods and rough country.

The South seizes national property. Throughout the area of secession, custom-houses, forts, arsenals, and all other property belonging to the United States were seized by the Confederacy. Some of President Buchanan's cabinet were Southern men in full sympathy with the secession movement, and they took active measures to aid the Confederate cause by sending arms and military supplies to Southern forts.

Buchanan did not believe in the right of secession; neither did he believe that the national government had a right to use coercion. But as he was in sympathy with the Southerners on the slavery question, he was unwilling to oppose them by preventing secession. The seceding states were therefore allowed to go far in preparation for war before Lincoln came into office.

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CONFEDERATE OFFICERS AT SULLIVAN'S ISLAND, NEAR CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, IN 1861.

If a man of iron will like Andrew Jackson had been President, secession might have been put down before gaining much headway. Buchanan, with unfortunate indecision, let things drift, and by a let-alone policy brought disaster upon the Union.

Before Lincoln's inauguration the South was ready for war. Early in January (1861) President Buchanan sent the merchant steamer *Star of the West* with men and supplies to Major Anderson of the United States army, who had command at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. The Confederate troops in Charleston fired upon the steamer and prevented her reaching the fort. It seemed that decisive action by the government at Washington could not be long delayed.

Lincoln, in his inaugural address, makes clear his resolution to defend the Union.

In the midst of intense excitement throughout the Union, Lincoln left his home in Illinois for Washington. Before he reached Baltimore he was informed that a plan had been made to assassinate him as he passed through that city. He was persuaded to change his route, and go to Washington at night by a special train. Lincoln could hardly believe that the crisis was so close at hand. In his inaugural address of March 4, 1861, he said that he had no intention of interfering with slavery, because he thought the Constitution did not give authority to do so, but he declared that he would do everything in his power to preserve, protect, and defend the Union. In closing, he referred thus to the South: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." Although the address was free from bitterness, it left no doubt of the firmness of Lincoln's purpose to uphold the Constitution.

Vain attempts are made to compromise.

There were many in the North and in the South who wished to avoid war. The feeling was wide-spread that the situation could be met, as at other critical times, by a compromise. With this in view Senator John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, proposed a Constitutional amendment, which provided (1) that slavery should be prohibited "in all the territory of the United States now held, or hereafter to be acquired, situated north of latitude 36° 30′"; (2) that in all the territory to the south of that line slavery should be recognized as existing, and should not be interfered with by Congress; and (3) that when states should be admitted from territory lying either north or south of that line they should be free or slave, as their constitution might provide. This compromise failed. Lincoln himself stood firm in opposition to any action favorable to the extension of slavery.

Another Constitutional amendment received the required two-thirds vote of the Senate and the House. This provided that no amendment to the Constitution should in the future give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any state. Before this amendment could be acted upon by the states, deliberation gave place to war.

The Confederates fire on Fort Sumter.

Neither side wished to be the first to strike, but the South wished to get possession of Fort Sumter. The Confederates had an opposing army of between 5,000 and 6,000 men. Major Robert Anderson was in command of the fort with a small force of about 80 fighting men, and with only a small supply of provisions on hand. About one month after his inauguration Lincoln decided to send supplies to the garrison.

INSIDE FORT SUMTER, SHOWING EFFECT OF THE BOMBARDMENT.

Two days after news of this decision reached South Carolina, General P. G. T. Beauregard, in command of the Confederate troops in Charleston, demanded the surrender of the fort. When Major Anderson refused, Beauregard opened fire early on the morning of April 12, 1861. For thirty-four hours the garrison held out against overwhelming forces. When at last Major Anderson saw that there was no hope of supplies reaching the garrison, he surrendered. On Sunday afternoon, the 14th, the Union soldiers saluted the Stars and Stripes with fifty guns, and, with drums beating "Yankee Doodle," marched out of the fort to embark for New York. In this bombardment no one was killed on either side. The North received the news with a shock. The South even was surprised. The secessionists had

From "The Photographic History of the Civil War," copyright Review of Reviews.

SOME CONFEDERATE GUNNERS IN 1861.

looked for compromise; but they had begun the war. A wave of intense patriotism spread throughout the North, and both governments made haste to organize their armies.

Four more states secede. When Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas were called upon to furnish their quota of troops to the national army they refused. Although these states had not wished to secede, they believed in the right of secession, and, therefore, when it became certain that the government meant to coerce their sister states to remain in the Union, they voted to secede. The secession area was thus extended over eleven states.[1] When Virginia withdrew from the Union, the western part of the state

[1] The remaining slave states, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, did not secede. The mountainous parts of western Virginia, not being adapted to the cultivation of rice, cotton, sugar, or tobacco, had no large plantations, and there was not a large ownership of slaves in that part of the state. The people, therefore, did not sympathize with secession, and early in 1861 withdrew from Virginia and organized a separate state government under the name of West Virginia. In June, 1863, West Virginia was admitted to the Union. The attitude

remained loyal, and by the early part of July the Union army had driven the Confederate troops out of that region.[1]

The Union army retreats in a panic at Bull Run.

By that time, in the North the people were becoming impatient for action. They demanded an advance upon Richmond. General Irwin McDowell was in command, at Washington, of about 30,000 raw and untried troops, and the Confederate army of 22,000, under General Beauregard, was stationed at Manassas Junction, about thirty-five miles from Washington, on a little stream called Bull Run.

THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON.

Here, on July 21, McDowell made an attack upon the Confederates, in which he seemed at first to be winning a victory by forcing back a part of their army. At the critical moment, however, the Confederates were reinforced,[2] and the Union army, with its raw troops under fire for the first time, fled in a panic toward Washington. The Confederate army, because of its crippled condition, made no attempt to pursue.

However, the North profited more than the South from Bull Run.

This battle probably benefited the Union more than it did the Confederacy. The Confederates seemed to think that the war was over and began to go back home. But the defeat caused the Union to appreciate the need of putting forth all her energies in preparation for a gigantic struggle, which now could not be prevented. General

of this state toward the war is an interesting illustration of the intimate connection between soil and climate and slavery, and between slavery and secession. In the mountainous regions still farther south many of the people were loyal to the Union. It is estimated that 100,000 of these mountain whites fought in the Northern armies.

[1] There was also a struggle for the control of Missouri; the Unionists won, and drove the Confederate forces out of the state.

[2] By the stubborn bravery of General Thomas J. Jackson in this battle he won the name of "Stonewall" Jackson, by which he was often called thereafter.

George B. McClellan, who had been successful in driving the Confederates out of West Virginia, was called from his victories there to organize and drill the Union army. During the autumn and winter both sides were busy fortifying their respective capitals, Washington and Richmond, and gathering all possible strength for the campaigns of 1862.

In the "Trent" Affair President Lincoln gives up Mason and Slidell to England.

To secure aid for the Southern cause, James M. Mason and John Slidell were selected by the Confederate Government as commissioners to England and France. In November, 1861, they escaped, at Charleston, the blockade of Southern ports which was already established, and took passage at Havana on the British mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes, of the United States war-vessel *San Jacinto*, stopped the *Trent* not far from the Bahama Islands, took off Mason and Slidell, and confined them in Fort Warren, in Boston harbor. Captain Wilkes was greatly applauded in the North for his alertness, but England was highly indignant at his action and began to make preparations for war. President Lincoln, bearing in mind that the War of 1812 was brought about mainly because England claimed the right to stop and search American vessels at sea, gave up the prisoners to England, with the statement that Captain Wilkes had acted without authority from the United States Government.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. You are now ready to study the Civil War. Only a few of the great battles are described in this history, but these will enable you to understand the character of the terrible conflict. You do not need to know the details of military movements, but you do need to know what kind of men your country sent to the camp and battle-field. Were they brave men? Were they manly, vigorous, and true-hearted? Find out as you study the war.

2. How did slavery split the Democratic party? What did the Republicans think of slavery? Learn all you can about the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, for to his wisdom and patience the United States is forever indebted for carrying us through this fateful crisis in our growth to complete nationality.
3. Discuss the Southern point of view of the Constitution. The Northern point of view. Recall the liberal-construction and the strict-construction theories of the Constitution in the time of Hamilton and Jefferson.
4. Why were the cotton states the first to secede?
5. What was President Buchanan's attitude toward the secession movement? What was the result of his inaction? Contrast this attitude with that of Andrew Jackson toward nullification.
6. Why did the Confederates fire on Fort Sumter? What is the significance of this attack?
7. Why did Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas secede? Account for the refusal of the people in the western part of Virginia to join their state in the secession movement.
8. What was the "'Trent Affair'"? Do you think President Lincoln acted wisely in giving up Mason and Slidell? Give reasons for your answer.
9. By reading the opening chapter of Ropes's "Story of the Civil War" you will get a clear idea of the difference between the Northern and the Southern point of view of the Union.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, III, chaps. XIII–XV; Coffin, *Building the Nation*, 460–467; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 213–220; Gordy, *Abraham Lincoln*, 106–156; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 511–524; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, 215–238.
FICTION: Churchill, *The Crisis;* Butterworth, *In the Boyhood of Lincoln.*

B. The Nation in Peril

The Union considers of first importance the blockade of the Southern ports.

Not until the opening of 1862 was a plan of operations matured by the Union. This plan, at the outset, was threefold: (1) To maintain the blockade of Southern ports; (2) to open the Mississippi; (3) to capture Richmond.

The importance of blockading the Southern ports requires a word of explanation. When Jefferson Davis said, "Cotton is king,"[1] he meant doubtless that England's money and friendship could be secured because of her need of cotton. In 1860 the cotton exports, most of which went to English factories,

[1] At the beginning of the war the cotton states in the South furnished two-thirds of all the cotton used in the world.

amounted to more than $202,000,000. Many English manufacturers and merchants and 4,000,000 English working people were dependent upon Southern cotton for their means of support. Believing that England, therefore, would never submit to any action on the part of the North which would cripple her industries, the Confederates expected that England's need of cotton would win for them the active sympathy of the English people. But from the beginning the North was determined to make the blockade of Southern ports so effective that the South could neither send cotton to England nor receive supplies from abroad for her soldiers and civilians.

One of the most thrilling stories in our national history—the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor."

The Confederacy resolutely determined to break the blockade. When the Norfolk navy-yard had been abandoned by the United States Government at the outbreak of the war, among the ships burned and sunk was the frigate *Merrimac*. This had been one of the largest and finest ships in the navy. The Confederates raised the frigate and converted her into an ironclad. She was rebuilt with sloping sides, plated with iron four inches thick, and furnished with a cast-iron beak and a formidable battery. She was many months in building. About noon of March 8, 1862, the *Merrimac* steamed into Hampton Roads, where the United States had a fleet of five powerful war-vessels. Her coming was not wholly unexpected. But in advancing to meet her, three of the blockading squadron ran aground on account of low water, and the other two directed broadside after broadside against her, without apparent effect. She sunk one of the vessels and forced the other to surrender. At nightfall she steamed back to her landing, proud of her victory, and expecting to complete her work of destruction on the following day.

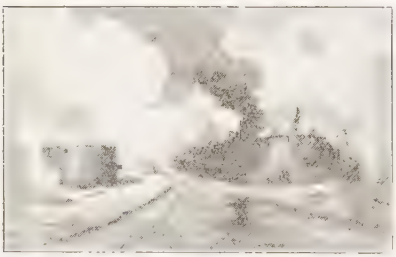
Great was the joy in the South that night, and great was the consternation in the North. Statesmen were grave, the people terrified. The blockade was broken at Norfolk. Soon it might be broken at other ports, and Northern commerce might be ruined by the ravages of this invulnerable sea-monster.

But most unexpectedly that night a strange-looking craft

came into the harbor at Hampton Roads. John Ericsson's *Monitor*, completed in New York two days before, had arrived just in time. She was built with an iron-plated deck almost

ON THE DECK OF THE "MONITOR."

Below, the battle, March 9, 1862, between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, in Hampton Roads, Virginia.



level with the water, and had a revolving iron turret with two powerful guns. As the Confederates said, she looked like a Yankee cheese-box on a raft. When the *Merrimac* steamed out of Norfolk next morning, confident of a victory over the three stranded frigates, she encountered the new adversary. A duel began that continued over three hours, without decisive results. Then the *Merrimac* withdrew, neither side wishing to continue the struggle longer. The *Merrimac* had met her match and made no further attempt to break the blockade. The sturdy little *Monitor* had saved the Union. This fight revolutionized naval warfare, for it showed that the

days of wooden war-vessels were at an end. Against such ironclads as the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* wooden vessels of the finest type were useless.

The North must gain control of the Mississippi.

If the Confederacy was to be cut off from the rest of the world, it was necessary not only to maintain the blockade but to gain possession of the Mississippi River. For by way of Mexico trade was kept up to some extent with European countries. Moreover, other advantages would be secured to the Union by getting possession of the river: (1) Its control would cut the Confederacy in two, making Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana of little use to the Southern cause; (2) it would prevent the Confederacy from getting supplies of any sort from the region west of the Mississippi; (3) it would enable the Union to use her navy to great advantage in concentrating troops in the rear of the Confederates and in getting supplies to her armies in that region; (4) it would open the Mississippi to the trade of the West and the Northwest.

Forts Henry and Donelson are captured by the North.

It was one thing to cut off the South from the rest of the world; it was quite another to get possession of her vast territory. But this must be done. Early in the war the Confederates had been driven from West Virginia and from Missouri. In the following winter and spring (1862) the Union generals began a series of movements whose purpose was to open the Mississippi from the north and to gain possession of Tennessee.

To defend this region the Confederates had built Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. By the capture of these two forts the two important rivers would be opened to Union vessels, and Nashville would have to be abandoned by the Confederates. To bring about this result, General Ulysses S. Grant, with the aid of Commodore Andrew H. Foote, moved upon the forts and received their surrender (February 6 and 16).[1] As the outcome of these victories Columbus and Nashville fell into the hands of the Union army.

[1] When General Simon B. Buckner sent to Grant for terms of surrender the following answer was sent: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

Then follow the Union victory at Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh) by Grant and the capture of New Orleans by Farragut.

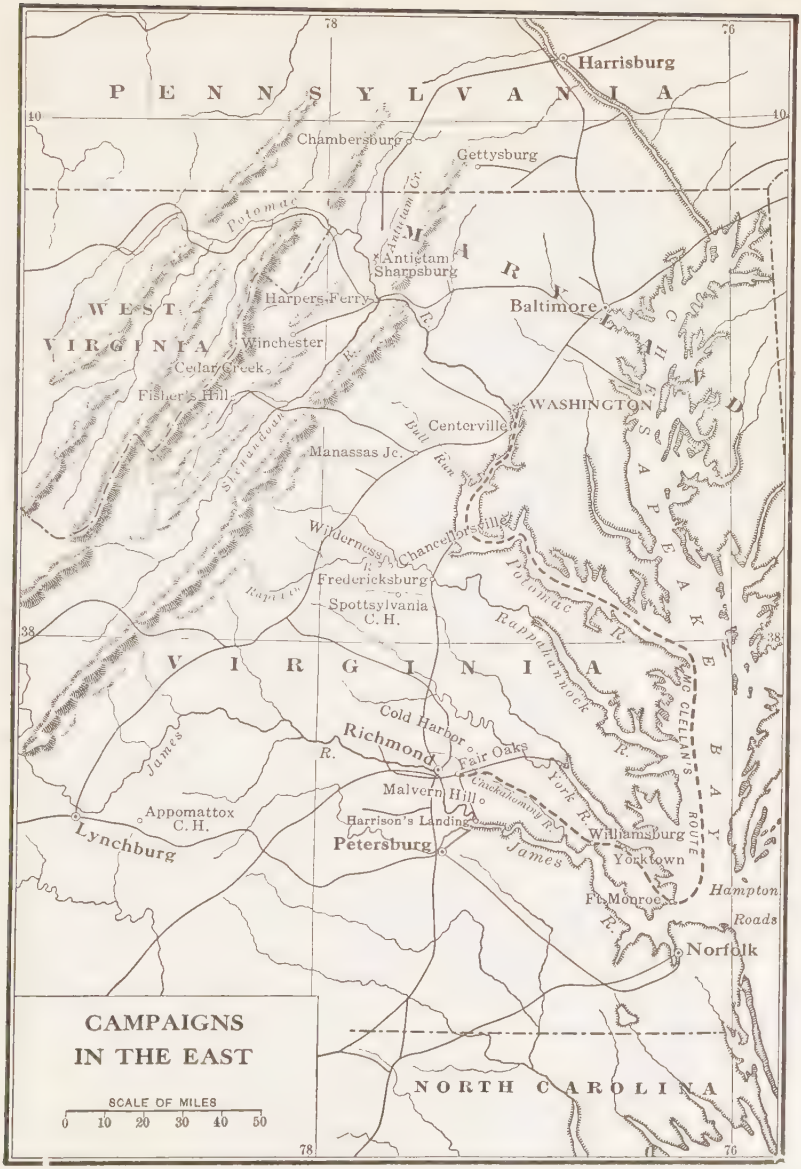
The Confederate army, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, now fell back upon another line of defense, and General Grant advanced to Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River. Here he was attacked by Johnston early on Sunday morning, April 6. It was a day of frightful carnage. By nightfall the Confederates had driven Grant's troops back a mile and a half toward the river, but before morning General Buell's fresh troops came up and, joining Grant's, together they drove the Confederates from the field. Among the killed was General Johnston, whose death was a serious loss to the South.

DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT.

New Orleans was important to the Confederacy because it controlled the lower Mississippi. Thirty miles from the mouth of the river stood two forts nearly opposite each other, and a little farther up the river was a strong Confederate fleet. Commodore David G. Farragut, in command of the Union fleet of nearly fifty wooden vessels, attacked these forts and met with a vigorous resistance. After bombarding them unsuccessfully for six days, he determined to run past them at night. This desperate undertaking succeeded and quickly brought New Orleans into the possession of the Union forces (April 25). With the aid of river gunboats the Union armies had, before the close of 1862, opened the river as far down as Vicksburg, so that this city and Port Hudson alone remained in possession of the Confederacy.

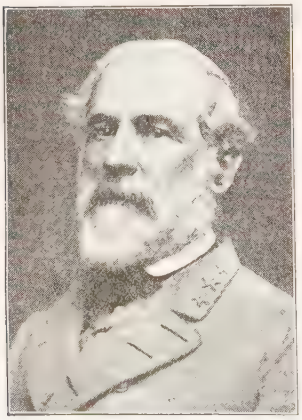
Three important generals —McClellan, Lee, and "Stonewall" Jackson— take part in the Peninsular campaign.

These victories in the West were in marked contrast with the failure in the East of the army under General McClellan. After the battle of Bull Run, McClellan had been placed in command of the Union troops at Washington. Before the opening of the spring campaign in 1862


Harrisburg
PENNSYLVANIA
Chambersburg
Gettysburg
Potomac
Antietam
Sharpsburg
MARYLAND
Harpers Ferry
Baltimore
WEST VIRGINIA
Winchester
Cedar Creek
Fisher's Hill
WASHINGTON
Centerville
Manassas Jc.
Bull Run
Wilderness
Chancellorsville
Fredericksburg
Spottsylvania C.H.
Rappahannock R.
VIRGINIA
Cold Harbor
Richmond
Fair Oaks
James R.
McCLELLAN'S BASE OF OPERATIONS
Malvern Hill
Appomattox C.H.
Lynchburg
Harrison's Landing
Petersburg
York R.
Williamsburg
Yorktown
James
Ft. Monroe
Hampton Roads
Norfolk
CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
NORTH CAROLINA
78
76
40
38

he had by thorough organization built up a splendid army, called the Army of the Potomac.

Leaving General McDowell in command of troops for the protection of Washington, McClellan transported the bulk of his army down the Chesapeake to Fortress Monroe, and in April he marched up the peninsula toward Richmond. He easily captured Yorktown and Williamsburg, and by the end of May was within ten miles of Richmond.



ROBERT E. LEE.

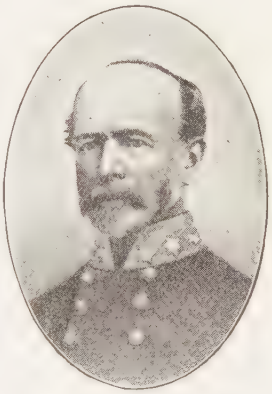
He planned to have McDowell's troops join him for an advance upon Richmond, but was checked by Robert E. Lee,[1] who had succeeded Joseph E. Johnston[2] as commander of the Confederate army. Fearing that McDowell would reinforce McClellan, Lee had sent "Stonewall" Jackson down the Shenandoah Valley to threaten Washington. Jackson succeeded not only in prevent-

[1] Robert E. Lee, son of Henry Lee, the "Light-Horse Harry" of Revolutionary fame, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1807, and died in 1870. He was graduated from West Point in 1829, ranking second in a class of forty-six. He distinguished himself for bravery in the Mexican War and rose to the rank of colonel. After Virginia seceded in 1861, Lee decided "to go with his state." He therefore resigned his commission in the army of the United States and a little later took command of the Virginia state troops. During the Peninsular campaign (1862) he was appointed commander of the Confederate army, and handled his troops with consummate ability. Military critics rank him and Grant as two of the foremost commanders in history. Lee won the confidence of the Southern people, and was held by them in unbounded admiration and affection. At the close of the war he became president of what is now Washington and Lee University, where he spent the remaining years of his life.

[2] Joseph E. Johnston was born in Longwood, Virginia, in 1807, and died in 1891. He was graduated from West Point in the same class with Robert E. Lee, who was ever after his warm personal friend. Like Lee, he did not favor secession, but "went with his state" when it seceded. Next to Lee he was probably the ablest Confederate general. After his success at the battle of Bull Run he fell into a serious disagreement with Jefferson Davis, the effect of which was to injure the Southern cause through a lack of co-operation between them. Johnston's defensive campaign in Georgia in 1864, when Sherman was advancing upon Atlanta, showed military ability of a high order.

ing McDowell from advancing to McClellan's aid, but, by marching toward Richmond, was able also to reinforce Lee.

These brilliant operations in the Shenandoah put a check upon McClellan's progress. The capture of Richmond was now out of the question, and the Union army was withdrawn to the James River. During this retreat, which lasted a week, the frightful "Seven Days' Battles" were fought. McClellan had failed to capture Richmond, and his failure caused bitter disappointment in the North.



JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

Lee starts to invade the North.

Soon after the Peninsular campaign the Confederates defeated the Union forces at the second battle of Bull Run. Lee then led his army across the Potomac into Maryland, where he expected to receive large recruits among sympathizers with the South. In this he was disappointed. The majority of the Maryland people stood loyal to the Union and plainly showed their attitude toward the invasion. When Lee's men marched into the state singing "Maryland, My Maryland," no sign of welcome encouraged them. At Frederick, Lee was surprised to find places of business closed, and the blinds of private houses drawn. The North, however, feared an attack upon Baltimore, Washington, or Philadelphia, and was greatly alarmed.

McClellan pursues Lee and drives him back at Antietam.

The Union army, under McClellan, went in pursuit of Lee, who had taken his position at the village of Sharpsburg, behind Antietam Creek. A hard battle followed, which resulted in Lee's retreat into Virginia without having gained anything by his first invasion of the North.

Some people thought McClellan ought to have routed or captured Lee's army. As he did not even follow the Confederates in their retreat, he was severely criticised for being slow and overcautious. There was, besides, great dissatisfaction with

the way he had handled his army in the Peninsular campaign. He was therefore superseded by General Ambrose E. Burnside. Burnside was as rash as McClellan was cautious, and in December met a crushing defeat when he attacked Lee in a strong

IN VIRGINIA—BALLOON CORPS SENDING UP AN OBSERVATION OFFICER.

position at Fredericksburg. This was the last engagement of the disastrous campaign of 1862 in the East; however, in the West the year's operations had been successful for the Union cause.[1]

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Why did Jefferson Davis think that the cotton-trade would secure the friendship of England for the Southern cause? Why was it extremely important for the Union cause to blockade the South?
2. Estimate the far-reaching results of the fight between the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor" in naval construction, even to the dreadnought battleship of to-day.

[1] One of the bloodiest battles of the war was fought at the end of this year at Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Beginning December 31, it lasted three days, and resulted in the retreat of the Confederates after the most stubborn fighting.

3. Name several advantages to the North in securing control of the Mississippi.
4. To what extent did the successes of the Union army at Forts Henry and Donelson, and at Shiloh, open the Mississippi to the Union? Why was New Orleans of such importance to the South?
5. Are you making constant use of your map? Point out on the map Yorktown and Williamsburg, and show their connection with McClellan's advance upon Richmond. What was the purpose of "Stonewall" Jackson's movement in the Shenandoah? What was the result?
6. After reading in various books about the Peninsular campaign, give reasons for McClellan's failure to capture Richmond. In spite of McClellan's slowness he was a very able general. In the light of the campaigns that follow consider McClellan again and see if your first estimate holds.
7. By reading McClellan's "Own Story" you will get clear ideas of his point of view.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Spears, *History of Our Navy*, chaps. IX–X; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 221–226; Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, 111–117, 124–144; Morse, *Abraham Lincoln;* Gordy, *Abraham Lincoln*, 162–172, 188–198; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 545–555.

FICTION AND POETRY: Page, *Among the Camps, Two Little Confederates;* Henty, *With Lee in Virginia;* Whittier, *Barbara Frietchie.*

C. The Tide Turns in Favor of the Union

The news from Chancellorsville encourages the South and depresses the North.

After Burnside had been repulsed at Fredericksburg he retired to winter quarters. His defeat had been so disastrous that he lost the confidence of the army and the North. Therefore President Lincoln, in grief and anxiety, again had to look for a general. Before the campaign of 1863 opened he put General Joseph Hooker in command. With 113,000 men Hooker attacked Lee, who had an army of only 62,000,[1] yet Lee so ably handled his forces that the Army of the

[1] In this battle the Confederates met with a grievous loss in the death of "Stonewall" Jackson. Through a mistake he was fired upon by some of his own men. Thomas J. Jackson, often called "Stonewall" Jackson, was born in 1824 in Harrison County, Virginia (now West Virginia), and was graduated from West Point in 1846. He took part in the Mexican War, and was promoted for good conduct. He resigned from the army in 1851, on receiving an appointment as professor in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Virginia. Although he was opposed to secession, he thoroughly believed in state rights, and therefore "went with his state" when it seceded. As soon as he took command of troops on the battle-field, he showed himself to be a remarkable soldier. He was Lee's ablest subordinate and, next to Lee, was probably the most popular Confederate general.

Potomac was again defeated in the disastrous battle of Chancellorsville. These two victories naturally made the South jubilant and as deeply depressed the North.

The discouraging situation brings out the greatness of Lincoln as a leader.

The news of the defeat at Chancellorsville brought much disappointment to the White House. The crushing burden of responsibility on President Lincoln was almost more than man could bear, but he toiled nobly against despair, and held to his firm determination to push the war with all the resources at his command.

A MAJOR-GENERAL AND STAFF OF THE UNION ARMY.
General Hancock, who in later life ran for the presidency on the Democratic ticket.

His most perplexing problem continued to be the selection of able generals. Many of the best-trained generals had withdrawn with the seceding Southern states, and it took time for the Union armies to reveal and develop leadership. It was almost an overwhelming situation for the President. With little military training or experience he was called upon to plan and direct military movements, because no one had been found in the army capable of assuming that responsibility. He applied himself, with his usual patience and energy, to the study of military science, and with his rare common sense and good judgment he faced many critical situations. However threatening the outlook, he never lost courage nor faith in final victory.

His great leadership, supported by millions of brave and loyal men and women, was bound to win in the end.

Lee starts a second time to invade the North and meets defeat in a great struggle at Gettysburg.

After the victories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, Lee planned to invade the North a second time. Early in June he marched down the Shenandoah Valley, crossed the Potomac, and advanced into Pennsylvania. He hoped to win a decisive victory over Union forces, to capture Baltimore or some other great Northern city, and then to dictate terms of peace. He had good reason to believe that a victory on Northern soil would lead England and France to recognize the independence of the Confederacy.

GEORGE G. MEADE.

Lee advanced his army toward Chambersburg and camped near by. Meantime General Meade, who had been appointed by President Lincoln to succeed Hooker as commander of the Army of the Potomac, started north from Frederick. On the 1st of July the two armies met at Gettysburg and fought a three days' battle. Nothing decisive resulted from the fighting of the first two days, although the Confederates gained a slight advantage. On the third Lee received General George E. Pickett's fresh division, and spent the morning in preparation for a grand assault on the Union centre. At one o'clock the Confederate guns opened fire, and until three o'clock the furious cannonade continued. Then the Union fire slackened in order to let the guns cool before the expected attack, and the Confederates supposed they had silenced the Union batteries.

General Pickett, in command of the best Virginia troops, was ordered to advance. In three magnificent lines, with a front a mile long, 15,000 Confederates charged across the field. The sight was thrilling, but soon the fire from the Union guns cut them down by hundreds. The fearful slaughter thinned their advancing lines, but heroically they pressed on. As they neared

the first line of Union troops a Union officer, although mortally wounded, pushed the only remaining gun of his battery to the fence and shouted to his commander: "Webb, I will give them one more shot." As he fired he fell, saying: "Good-by." Pickett's men broke through the first line. One of Pickett's generals leaped over the fence, raised his sword, upon the point of which he swung his hat, and shouted: "Give them the cold

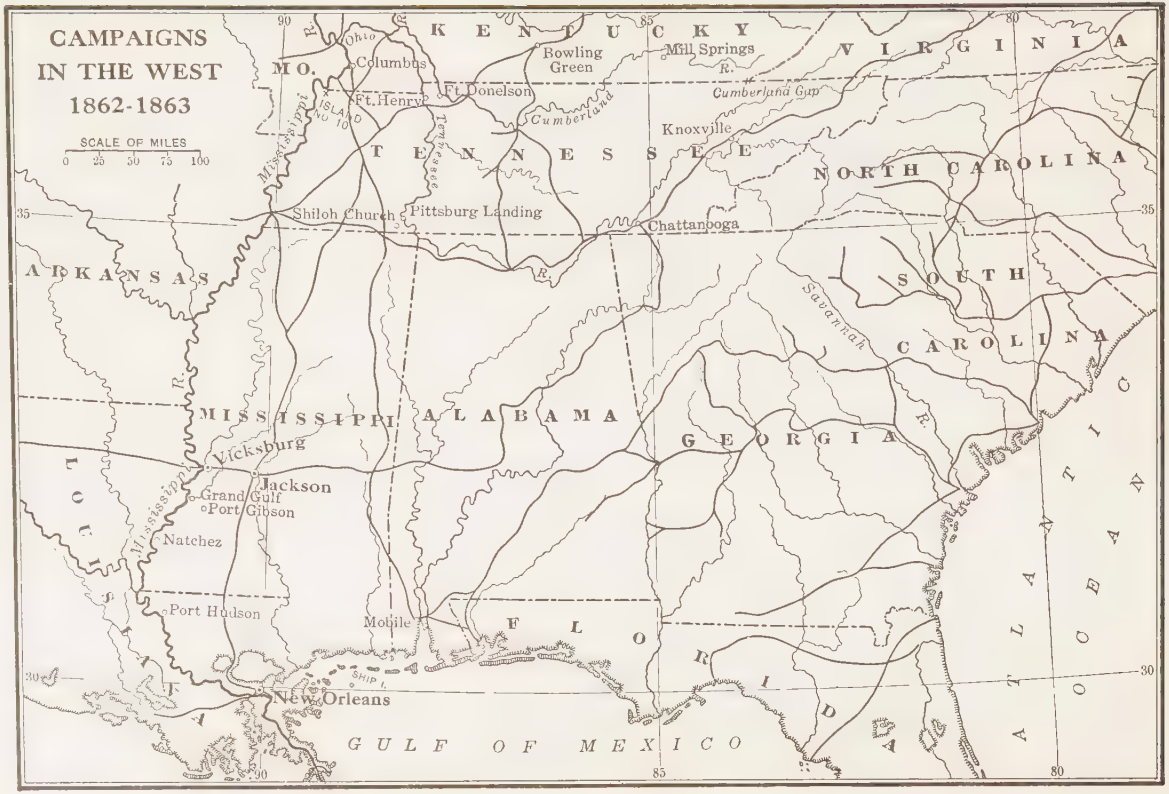
FLAGSHIP "CARONDELET" ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, AFTER PASSING VICKSBURG.

steel, boys!" Just as he laid his hand upon a Union gun to capture it, he was shot down. From every side the Union men came rushing headlong upon the enemy. The impact was terrific. Men and officers mingled in one struggling mass, each one fighting for himself. Pickett's men were soon repulsed. With their lines broken into fragments they were driven back with disastrous loss.

The failure of Pickett's charge made certain Lee's defeat at Gettysburg, and with that the tide turned. Next day Lee began his retreat toward the Potomac, and after this the Confederates were unable to secure a foothold in the North.

Vicksburg is captured by the North.

On the same day that Lee retreated from Gettysburg, Grant received the surrender of Vicksburg. At the close of the Western campaign of 1862 that city and Port Hudson were the only Confederate strongholds left on the Mississippi. After


CAMPAIGNS
IN THE WEST
1862-1863
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100
MO.
Ohio R.
Columbus
Mississippi R.
ISLAND NO 10
Ft. Henry
Tennessee R.
Ft. Donelson
Bowling Green
Cumberland R.
Mill Springs
Cumberland Gap
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Knoxville
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
Shiloh Church
Pittsburg Landing
Chattanooga
ARKANSAS
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
Vicksburg
Jackson
Grand Gulf
Port Gibson
Natchez
Mississippi R.
LOUISIANA
Port Hudson
Mobile
FLORIDA
SHIP I.
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
90
85
80
35
30

months of unsuccessful effort to take Vicksburg from the north, General Grant determined to attack it from the south.

He laid siege to the city (May 19), cutting it off from supplies of all kinds. Provisions became so scarce that flour sold for $1,000 a barrel (Confederate money). Thousands of shells were

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND CABINET.
First reading of the Emancipation Proclamation.
After a painting by F. B. Carpenter.

thrown into the city daily and many people abandoned their homes. They lived in caves which they dug in banks where the streets had been cut through the hills. Unable to hold out longer, on July 4, 1863, General John C. Pemberton surrendered with 32,000 men. Four days later Port Hudson was captured and the Mississippi River to its mouth fell under the control of the Union.

Lincoln frees the slaves by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation.

In his inaugural address President Lincoln had declared that he would not interfere with slavery where it already existed, because he had no constitutional right to interfere. He made clear then what he emphasized later, that his great purpose was not to destroy slavery

but to save the Union. In the second year of the war he wrote: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it—and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it—and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because it helps to save the Union."

As the war proceeded it became evident that the slaves were a great source of strength to the Confederacy, for by their labor they supplied food not only for Southern families but for the support of the Confederate army. In this way they were aiding the Confederacy about as much as if they had been bearing arms. Moreover, the sentiment in regard to slavery was changing in the North. Many people had come to look upon it as the cause of the war and were determined that the government should attack it as a war measure.

President Lincoln had authority, as commander-in-chief of the army, to set free slaves in all territory where people were fighting against the Union. Accordingly, when he decided that to win the war he must do this, he hesitated no longer. After the battle of Antietam he warned the seceded states (September 22, 1862) that unless they returned to the Union before January 1, 1863, he would set their slaves free. As none of these states returned, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued on that day. From then onward the war was fought not only to save the Union but to free the slaves. The people in the South ridiculed the proclamation, and many in the North did not favor it, but it strongly appealed to the working classes both here and in England.

Employment of freed slaves in the Northern army stops exchange of prisoners.

It was but one step further to arm the slaves and make them soldiers; for if the Emancipation Proclamation was issued as a military necessity in order to weaken the Confederacy and to make the issue of the war perfectly plain to the world, the same military necessity would call for the arming of these slaves after they were emancipated. Before the end of the war, therefore, 180,000 colored troops were enlisted in the Union armies, and they were a material aid in bringing about the defeat of the

Confederate cause. The Confederates bitterly resented the employment of their former slaves in the Union armies and refused to recognize the negro soldiers or their officers in exchanging prisoners. This led to mutual misunderstanding between the contending forces and ended in putting a stop to all exchange of prisoners. As a result, thousands of soldiers languished in prison and suffered from disease and famine.[1]

Riots follow conscription in the North.

During the first half of the war the North depended upon volunteer troops, but after two years and many serious defeats the people became so discouraged that there was little or no volunteering. Then the government found it advisable to resort to a conscription, or draft. All able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were enrolled, and from this enrolment a certain proportion was chosen by lot. The draft was very unpopular. In New York City, beginning July 13, 1863, a serious riot lasted four days and resulted in the destruction of much property. The mobs showed especial hatred toward colored people and killed many, apparently blaming them for causing the war.

Even the draft failed to supply the men needed for the army, and the United States Government, as well as states and cities, offered bounties to those who would enlist. The system was wrong and resulted in disgraceful practices. Men would enlist, collect the bounty in cash, desert when opportunity offered, go to another state or district and enlist again, get another bounty, and repeat the practice as long as they wished or until they were caught. It was called bounty-jumping. One man confessed that he had jumped the bounty thirty-two times. This is but an instance of the obstructions which the government had to overcome in performance of its duties.

Conscription in the South.

In April, 1862, by an act of the Confederate Congress, all able-bodied white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five were required to enter the Confederate army. In the autumn of the same year the age limit was extended from thirty-five to forty-

[1] Some of the noted Southern prisons were Libby Prison and Belle Isle, in Richmond, Virginia, and Andersonville, in Georgia.

five, and before the close of the war even boys of sixteen and seventeen and elderly men were included. So hard-pressed for men was the Confederacy that just before the war came to an end its Congress had decided to enlist some of the slaves in the Confederate army. This was the more necessary because, when

INFANTRY COMPANY OF A MICHIGAN REGIMENT IN WINTER QUARTERS.

all exchange of prisoners was stopped, the armies of the South, on account of the scarcity of fighting men, were much more seriously crippled than those of the North.

A Confederate victory at Chickamauga; a Union victory at Chattanooga.

After the loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Chattanooga was the strongest and most important position held by the Confederates in the West. General William S. Rosecrans, in command of a Union army, succeeded in getting control of this place, but he was afterward defeated in the battle of Chickamauga by the Confederate general, Braxton Bragg, who had a much larger number of men. The Confederates would have routed the entire Union army but for the unflinching courage of General George H. Thomas, afterward called the "Rock of Chickamauga."

Bragg then strongly fortified himself on Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, overlooking Chattanooga, and tried to

cut off the Union army from supplies. The situation became serious; but General Grant, who had superseded Rosecrans, succeeded in getting control of a line over which the Union army could receive supplies, and then attacked Bragg in his mountain stronghold. In this battle of Chattanooga the Confederate army, overwhelmed and defeated, fled from the field in confusion.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Observe that after Lee's retreat from Antietam he defeated the Army of the Potomac in two battles, the first at Fredericksburg (December, 1862) and the second at Chancellorsville (April, 1863). What reasons had Lee for a second invasion of the North in 1863?
2. Why was the capture of Vicksburg most important?
3. What were the most striking results of the battle of Gettysburg?
4. How did the slaves aid the Confederate cause? What was the source of President Lincoln's authority to set free any of the slaves in the South? What was the Emancipation Proclamation? After its issue what was the Union fighting for? How did the Proclamation strengthen the cause of the Union?
5. Why was it to be expected that the North, after emancipating the slaves, would employ them as soldiers? What effect did this have upon the exchange of prisoners?
6. You will find Coffin's books on the Civil War very interesting.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, 225–260; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 223–227; Gordy, *Abraham Lincoln*, 162–187; Morse, *Abraham Lincoln;* Cooke, *Robert E. Lee*, 304–363; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 572–580; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, 95–128.

FICTION AND POETRY: Johnston, *The Long Roll;* Harte, *John Burns of Gettysburg.*

D. Lee's Army Exhausted by Grant's Persistent Attacks

The North plans a comprehensive campaign for 1864.

By the close of 1863 the Confederacy had been cut down to Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Union armies had now to conquer these four states. In March, 1864, Grant, who had won the confidence of the people by his campaign in the West, was

raised to a military rank second only to that of the President, with the title of lieutenant-general.[1]

According to the Union plan, Grant was to advance for the capture of Richmond, which was defended by Lee; Sherman was to get control of Georgia, held by the Confederates under the command of Joseph E. Johnston. These two campaigns were to begin at the same time, so that the Confederate armies might be prevented from aiding each other.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Grant moves on Richmond. Grant's advance upon Richmond began early in May, when he crossed the Rapidan and entered the Wilderness,[2] as that vast stretch of land was called by the Virginians. For two days in the thick, gloomy woods, where the enemy often could not be seen twenty feet away, a terrible struggle ensued. As Grant moved forward, severe battles were fought at Spottsylvania Court House and at Cold Harbor. But he was undaunted. He pressed on, and as commander of the Union army wrote to Lincoln: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Before the close of June he had lost more than 60,000 men, and Lee 40,000. Realizing after this great loss of life that he could not capture Richmond by attacking it from the north, he transferred his army across the James in order to attack the city from the south.

[1] Ulysses S. Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, in 1822, and died at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, New York, in 1885. Entering the army after being graduated from the Military Academy at West Point, he distinguished himself for bravery in many important battles of the Mexican War. In 1861 he received a commission as colonel of an Illinois regiment, and by his unusual military ability rose to the rank of lieutenant-general (1864) in command of the Union armies. His brilliant strategy at Vicksburg and Chattanooga in 1863, and his tenacious advance upon Richmond in 1864–1865, proved him to be one of the greatest military leaders of all time. His resolute purpose, cool judgment, and unflinching courage never failed in the hour of trial and danger.

[2] Grant's army, arranged in ranks of four, the ranks being five feet apart, would have extended a distance of more than twenty-eight miles.

Both Early and Sheridan carry their raids along the Shenandoah.

It will be remembered that in 1862, when McClellan was near Richmond, "Stonewall" Jackson was sent into the Shenandoah to threaten Washington and prevent McDowell from reinforcing McClellan. In 1864 Lee tried in the same way to weaken the attack upon Richmond. Toward the last of June General Early was sent with 20,000 men to threaten Washington by way of the Shenandoah, but he failed to enter the city. A little later he led another raid down the Shenandoah across the Potomac into Pennsylvania, and burned Chambersburg.

To put an end to such raids into the North, General Philip H. Sheridan[1] was sent with 30,000 men to watch Early and to lay waste the fruitful Shenandoah Valley, which furnished supplies to Lee's army in Richmond. Sheridan defeated Early and chased him up the valley, destroyed 2,000 barns filled with grain and farming implements and 70 mills filled with flour and wheat, besides driving off thousands of sheep and cattle. A few days later, in Sheridan's[2] absence, Early surprised the Union army at Cedar Creek, and drove it back seven miles. In the house where he was spending the night Sheridan heard the boom of battle and rushed to the command of his troops. This was the occasion of "Sheridan's Ride" from Winchester, about fourteen (not "twenty") miles away. On his arrival he

[1] Philip H Sheridan was born in Ohio in 1831, and died in 1888. He was graduated from West Point in 1853. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War he was chief quartermaster of the army in the southwestern part of Missouri. He handled his troops so ably at the battle of Murfreesboro that he was promoted to the rank of major-general. He gave further striking evidence of military skill and daring at Chickamauga and Chattanooga. In 1864 Grant had Sheridan put in command of all the cavalry in the Army of the Potomac. His campaign in the Shenandoah was one of the great military achievements of the war. He was so popular that he was called by his men "Little Phil." Some years before his death he became lieutenant-general, and on his death-bed was promoted to the rank of general.

[2] It was in the early morning of the battle that General Sheridan, who was at Winchester on his return from Washington, mounted his handsome coal-black horse, Rienzi, and rode at full speed toward the scene of battle. When he met the retreating soldiers he shouted: "Turn back, men—turn back! Face the other way!" His inspiring presence heartened the soldiers. With waving hats they cried, "Sheridan! Sheridan!" and cheerfully followed their leader as he dashed forward. Sheridan's ride changed defeat into overwhelming victory.

found that a part of the Union forces had been drawn up for battle. Cheered by the sight of their commander, his men defeated Early's army, driving it in confusion from the field.

Sherman captures Atlanta and marches to the sea.

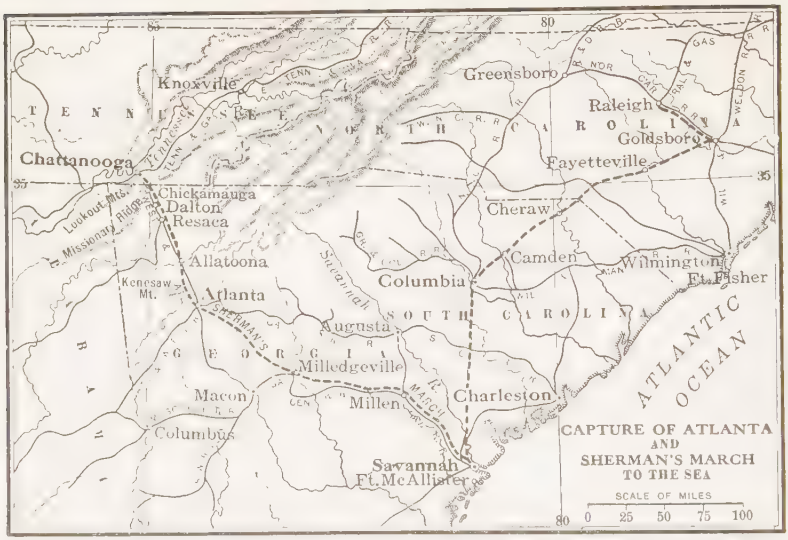
In early May, 1864, Sherman[1] was at Chattanooga with 100,000 men facing Johnston with 64,000 at Dalton. It was important to get possession of Georgia because it was the workshop, the arsenal, and the storehouse of the Confederacy. Sherman planned to capture Atlanta, the important railroad centre where arms and ammunition were manufactured for the Confederate army, and then to pass on to the sea and destroy the supplies necessary to sustain the Confederate armies.[2] Sherman had more men than Johnston and compelled him to retreat. Battles were fought at Resaca, New Hope Church, and Kenesaw Mountain.

WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

Both generals were skilful, but Johnston, by his cautious movements, failed to satisfy the Confederate authorities. He was superseded by General John Hood, who was as rash and

[1] William T. Sherman was born in Lancaster, Ohio, in 1820, and died in 1891. Having graduated from West Point in 1840 he remained in the army until 1853, and then resigned his commission to engage in business. At the outbreak of the Civil War he became a colonel and took part in the battle of Bull Run. Soon after that battle he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general and transferred to Halleck's command in the Department of the West. His great military ability was shown at Shiloh and in the memorable Vicksburg campaign. When, therefore, Grant was placed in command of all the Union armies in 1864, he obtained the appointment of Sherman as commander of the armies of the West. The "March to the Sea," one of the notable military achievements of modern history, followed. Sherman was among the ablest generals of the Civil War. When Grant became general of the army in 1866, Sherman was made lieutenant-general, and when Grant was elected President, Sherman was promoted to the rank of general.

[2] Although such a course may seem cruel, it is just as good generalship to starve an army into submission as to kill with firearms. Its effect is to shorten war and save human life. But it indicates war's awful brutality and waste. Sherman wrote in his report that his army had destroyed $100,000,000 worth of property, 80 per cent of which was pure waste and destruction. It is not surprising that he afterward exclaimed: "War is hell!"



impetuous as Johnston had been wary. Hood at once made desperate attacks upon Sherman, who defeated him by cutting the railroad connections south of Atlanta and captured the city.

On November 15 Sherman cut loose from all communication with the North, and started through Georgia on his famous march from Atlanta to the sea, some two hundred miles away. As he went forward he destroyed three hundred miles of railroad and laid waste the country over a belt sixty miles wide. With the loss of less than 1,000 men he reached Savannah just before Christmas.

Farragut captures Mobile. As one of the leading purposes of the government was to prevent, by blockade, the export of Southern cotton, the navy was rapidly increased. By the middle of 1864 Union war-vessels had succeeded in closing nearly all the Southern ports to foreign trade. One of the most important yet to be taken was Mobile, which Admiral Farragut[1]

[1] The night before the terrible struggle in Mobile Bay Admiral Farragut wrote to his wife: "I am going into Mobile Bay in the morning, if God is my leader, as I hope He is, and in Him I place my trust. God bless and preserve you, my darling, and my dear boy, if anything should happen to me."

was sent to capture in co-operation with a land force of 5,000 men. Realizing its great value, the Confederates prepared a vigorous defense. Two strong forts stood on opposite sides of the entrance to the bay; the channel was obstructed by torpedoes; and within the bay lay three gunboats and the powerful ironclad ram *Tennessee*.

At six o'clock on the morning of August 5, 1864, the powerful

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT [RIGHT] ON THE DECK OF HIS FLAGSHIP, "HARTFORD," AFTER THE VICTORY AT MOBILE BAY.

Union fleet got under way. That he might see above the smoke of battle, Farragut, then sixty-three years old, took his position in the rigging of the flag-ship *Hartford*. By ten o'clock the fight was over and the capture of Mobile assured. In a few days the forts surrendered. This was the last naval battle in which the army co-operated.

English working men sympathize with the Union.

The closing of the port of Mobile was significant because it was the last large port open to foreign trade. It hastened the surrender of the Confederacy, which in the end was forced to give up the struggle because of a lack of

supplies; in other words, the South was starved by the blockade into submission. Although the cotton exports in 1860 had amounted to $202,000,000, in 1861 they fell to $42,000,000, and in 1862 to $4,000,000. During the remaining years of the war the blockade was so effective that the value of the cotton exports was not worth consideration.

It was this cutting off of the much-needed cotton supply from English factories, as you remember, that caused Jefferson Davis to rely upon the friendship of England. He thought the interests of English working men were so closely identified with a continuous supply of Southern cotton that they would oppose the blockade. But the Confederate leaders greatly erred when they counted upon the sympathy of the working classes in England, for when they understood that the war was a struggle between freedom and slavery, their sympathy was with the free states. Although the cotton famine in England, produced by the blockade of the South, forced hundreds of thousands out of employment, these starving laborers prayed for the success of the Union. On the other hand, the aristocracy, with a few exceptions, and the British Government, being more in sympathy with the aristocratic Southern planter and perhaps jealous of American commerce, favored the Confederacy.

The "Alabama" causes havoc to Northern merchant ships.

British ship-builders, with the full knowledge of the British Government, built formidable Confederate cruisers in British dockyards for the South, which had no facilities for building a navy. These cruisers injured our commerce and almost drove our merchant marine from the sea.

The most famous cruiser, the *Alabama*,[1] commanded by Captain Raphael Semmes, was built with British money in a British port, was manned by a British crew, carried British gunners, and hoisted a British flag. In short, with the exception of her officers, she was a British vessel, built for the special purpose

[1] "A score of other Confederate cruisers roamed the seas to prey upon United States commerce, but none of them became quite so famous as the *Sumter* and the *Alabama*. . . . Most of these cruisers were built in British shipyards."—R. Johnson.

of destroying the commerce of the Union states. Charles Francis Adams, our able minister to England at that time, protested in vain. The United States, in the midst of a civil war, no longer commanded the respect of the British Government. Our country was not in a position to demand justice and satisfaction, but it resented England's attitude none the less keenly, and the

SOME MEN OF THE UNION NAVY IN THE CIVIL WAR.

time came when England considered it wise to listen. The attitude of the British Government in helping the Confederate navy was most unfortunate, for it caused much unfriendliness toward England in the North.

During her noteworthy cruising career, from August, 1862, to June, 1864, the *Alabama* captured over sixty Northern vessels with their cargoes, amounting in value to over $7,000,000. During this time she was able to elude all attempts of the United States war-vessels to capture her until she put into harbor at Cherbourg, France. On learning of her arrival there, Captain John A. Winslow, in command of the *Kearsarge*, who had been sent out in search of her, waited near the harbor for her to come out. The duel between the two vessels was fought six or seven miles from the coast of France (June 19, 1864). In about

an hour of fighting the *Alabama* was shattered and sunk, and this ended the destructive work of Confederate cruisers.

Napoleon III favors the South because of his desire for Mexico.

Nor did the English Government stand alone in its unfriendly attitude. The French Government was equally hostile. During the later years of the war, with a duplicity quite equal to that of Napoleon I before the War of 1812, Napoleon III allowed ironclads for the Southern navy to be built in France. One of these was finally launched, but the war had come to an end before it reached our coast.

Napoleon III, for personal reasons, was eager for the success of the Confederate cause, and urged England to acknowledge the independence of the South. He wished to have the Union dissolved, because he desired to found an empire on the ruins of the republic of Mexico, and he knew that as long as the Union remained unbroken he could not carry out his plans.

Prompted by this desire, he intervened in the affairs of Mexico, which was then under a revolutionary government. In 1861 he sent a French army to invade Mexico, and by 1863 had established an empire there and placed Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, on the throne. The United States protested in vain. After the close of the war, however, in response to the threatening attitude of this country, Napoleon withdrew the French troops. Maximilian was then taken prisoner by the Mexican authorities, tried by court martial, and shot. The significance of this event lay in its violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Discuss the condition of the Confederacy and show what part remained unconquered at the close of 1863.
2. Compare Early's raid in the Shenandoah in 1864 with Jackson's movement in that valley in 1862. What did Jackson accomplish? What did Early accomplish? Why was Sheridan sent into the Shenandoah? What did he accomplish there? Why was the Shenandoah of importance to the Confederates?
3. Why was it desirable for the Union to get possession of Atlanta? What was the purpose of Sherman's "March to the Sea"? Consult the map in this connection. What did Sherman's march show as to the condition of the South?

4. What did Jefferson Davis mean by speaking of cotton as "king"? At this point review the "'Trent' Affair," the importance of the blockade, the attempt by the Confederacy to break the blockade by means of the "Merrimac," and the effect the blockade had upon cotton export.
5. Why did English working men sympathize with the Union, and how did their attitude help it? Why did the English aristocracy and the English Government favor the Confederacy? In what way did English ship-builders aid it?
6. What was the "Alabama," and what was the attitude of the British Government toward Confederate cruisers built in British dockyards? What became of the "Alabama"?
7. How did Napoleon III show his sympathy with the Confederacy? What was his scheme in sending Maximilian to Mexico? In this connection review the Monroe Doctrine, and find out whether or not Napoleon III violated this doctrine by supporting Maximilian with a French army. Why were the French troops withdrawn from Mexico after the Civil War?
8. Study the careers of Grant and Lee as military leaders.
9. Read Adams's "Charles Francis Adams" for an illuminating account of our relations with England during the war.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Spears, *History of Our Navy*, IV, 430–437; Eggleston, *Household History of the United States;* Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, 261–287, 303–318; Grant, *Personal Memoirs;* Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 233–237; Gordy, *Abraham Lincoln*, 222–240; Cooke, *Robert E. Lee*, chaps. XV, XVI.

POETRY: Read, *Sheridan's Ride; Tenting on the Old Camp Ground;* Whitman, *O Captain! My Captain!*

E. Lee's Depleted Army Surrenders at Appomattox Court House

Richmond is taken. By the various disasters on land and sea already recounted, the Southern cause was brought into desperate straits. Careful observers could see that the net was closing around Lee, who, with 40,000 men, still held Richmond. Grant, with 100,000 men, opposed him on the south of Petersburg, and Sherman, who had left Savannah (February 1, 1865), was on his way northward, marching through the Carolinas. Therefore, in order to join Johnston's force, then in North Carolina, Lee made a last effort to break through the Union lines. This plan was defeated by the battle of Five Forks, where 5,000 Confederates were captured. The next day (April 2) Lee evacuated Richmond and retreated westward.

The pursuit was close. Hundreds of the Confederates, having little to eat and despairing of their cause, deserted. Thousands threw away their arms. One week after leaving Richmond (April 9), Lee, finding that every avenue of escape was cut off, proposed a conference with Grant at Appomattox Court House, about seventy-five miles west of Richmond.

THE RUINS OF RICHMOND AFTER ITS EVACUATION BY LEE.

Lee surrenders to Grant.

It was a notable meeting. The interview between the two great generals was not long. Lee surrendered with 26,000 men, only 8,000 of whom had arms. The terms of surrender were generous; for, after all, the "Boys in Gray" and the "Boys in Blue" were brothers. With considerate kindness Grant ordered that all who owned horses or mules should be allowed to take them home. "They will need them for the spring plowing," he said. When the Confederate soldiers marched in front of the Union soldiers to stack arms in token of surrender, the Union soldiers saluted. With equal courtesy the Confederates returned the salute. The hearts of the Southern people were moved by this kindly attitude of General Grant, which indeed represented that of the United States Government and of the

people as a whole. The great struggle ended when Johnston surrendered to Sherman near Raleigh, N. C. (April 26, 1865).

The President is assassinated. While the people were still rejoicing over the return of peace, the nation was plunged into mourning for the loss of their leader, who had safely piloted them through the storm of war. On

IN THE TRENCHES BEFORE PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.
From a photograph in the collection of Frederick H. Meserve.

the evening of April 14, 1865, while President Lincoln was at Ford's Theatre in Washington, an actor, J. Wilkes Booth, entered the President's box from the rear and shot the President through the head. He then leaped to the stage, shouting "Sic semper tyrannis," rushed out of the stage door and, amid the wildest excitement of the people, escaped. In a few days he was hunted to his hiding-place in Virginia and shot dead while resisting capture.

The assassination occurred a little after ten o'clock in the evening, but Lincoln lingered, unconscious, until early next morning. When his spirit passed Secretary Stanton was the first to break the silence by saying: "Now he belongs to the ages." The grief of the people for the nation's hero was well-nigh universal. On Friday, April 21, the train that was to take

his body to Springfield, Illinois, for burial moved slowly out of Washington on its mournful journey. It stopped at many large cities along the route where, as the body lay in state, vast throngs filed past in unbroken silence, thereby expressing their love and grief for their departed leader.

The spirit of his noble service is well illustrated in the closing words of his second inaugural address, March 4, 1865[1]: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Heroism, sacrifice, and service characterize the North and the South during the war.

The death of Lincoln came near the end of an eventful era. The spirit in which he had directed and moulded events throughout the war was sadly missed in the "binding up of the nation's wounds" during the months that followed. Before we dis-

[1] It seems fitting to introduce here the memorable Gettysburg speech, made at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863, on the occasion of the dedication of the National Cemetery there. The speech well exemplifies, in its sincerity, simplicity, and tenderness of feeling, the character of President Lincoln.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG SPEECH

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they, who fought here, have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

cuss that period we must glance at some features of the war not expressed in terms of fighting. One was the alleviating work of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions. Early in the war the Sanitary Commission had been organized by good men and women to supplement the work of the government in aiding needy and distressed soldiers. Recognized by the government

SANITARY COMMISSION LODGE CONVALESCENT CAMP NEAR ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA, MAY, 1863.

and supported by all classes of the people, its career was one of extraordinary usefulness. It had its own physicians, nurses, and attendants, its own transports and methods of work. It ministered to the wounded on the battle-field and carried the wounded soldiers to the hospital. Furthermore, it gave relief to men on sick leave, collected and distributed supplies, and in every possible way cared for the needy and suffering soldiers.

The Christian Commission cared for the souls as well as the bodies of the soldiers. It distributed tracts, held prayer-meetings in improvised chapels, comforted the dying and, where possible, gave Christian burial. This commission also received the recognition and support of the government. Besides these or-

ganized efforts, thousands of noble women at home, in hospitals, and near the scenes of battles expressed in their service through these commissions not only a tender love and sympathy, but a patriotism as faithful and true as that of the brave soldiers whom they attended.

It would be difficult to picture in words the sacrifices cheerfully made by wives, sisters, and mothers during the four years of the awful struggle. There were unnumbered cases of women who toiled all day and spent much of the night in making shirts, knitting socks, and rolling bandages for the soldiers. Brave women left their homes to take up the dangerous tasks of the scout or the spy. Thousands joined the ranks of the nurses. Among these was Clara Barton, who felt that she must go to the front and give immediate aid to the men who had fallen. Till the end of the war she devoted her time and strength to care of the wounded and dying. No demand was too great, no service too small, if it added comfort to the suffering soldiers.

In the South the women were equally loyal and devoted to the cause for which their people were fighting. They were as brave and heroic as were their soldiers at the front. Their burdens were even heavier than those of their sisters in the North, because nearly all their able-bodied men were in the military service.

How the expenses of the war were paid.

To provide the money needed to carry on the expensive military operations of the war was difficult for the government. Congress first laid heavier duties on goods coming from foreign countries, and passed an internal revenue law taxing almost all the necessaries of life such as food, drink, and clothing, as well as certain luxuries and conveniences which were in common use. The next method of providing money was the selling of United States government bonds. These were paper promises to pay, at the end of twenty, thirty, or forty years, a sum of money which was the face value of the bonds, and bearing interest, usually at six or seven per cent.

As the cost of the war soon became almost $2,000,000 per day, the income from the taxes and the bonds proved insufficient to meet the enormous expenses. Congress, therefore, did

just as the Continental Congress had done; it issued millions of dollars of paper currency, which the people used instead of gold and silver. These paper notes were called greenbacks. As the law required that they should be accepted in payment of debts, they were used freely. Gold, however, remained the standard,

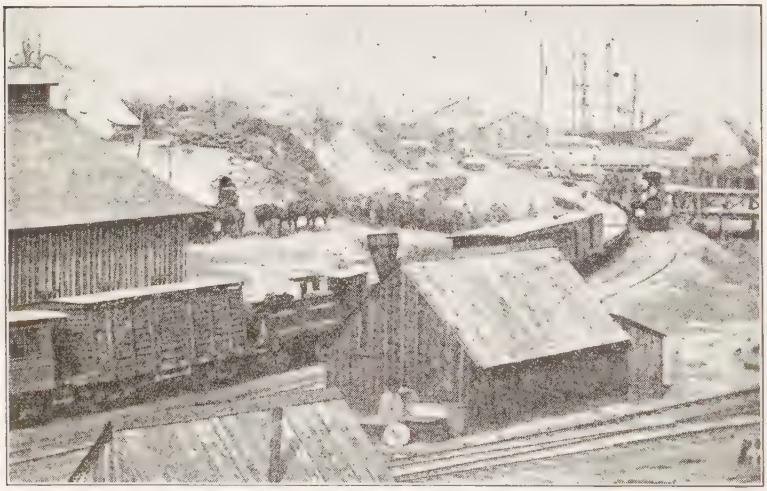
CHRISTIAN COMMISSION OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

and the value of greenbacks depended on the price of gold, which went up and down with the victories and defeats on the battle-fields. When the Union armies won a great victory, the value of greenbacks rose; when they met with a severe defeat, their value fell. When the success of the Union was most uncertain, greenbacks were worth, in gold, a little more than one-third of their face value.

A national banking system is established.

In 1863, to provide a market for the United States bonds, for the government was sorely in need of money to carry on the war, Congress passed a law establishing a national banking system. This law provided that any banking company which should deposit United States bonds in the Treasury Department might issue bank-notes equal to 90 per cent of the

face value of the bonds. These banks were known as national banks. The state banks, already in existence, issued their own notes and did not buy the United States bonds. Two years later, therefore, Congress passed a law putting a 10 per cent tax on notes of state banks. Then many of these banks, to



TRANSPORT SERVICE IN CIVIL-WAR TIME.
Note type of locomotive. Sailing-vessels discharging cargoes of ammunition.

avoid the tax, purchased and deposited government bonds, thus becoming national banks.

Results of the war. The Civil War was a heavy drain upon the resources of the country. At its close the South was laid low and the North was under a severe strain. About 600,000 men had been killed and several hundred thousand had been permanently injured. The loss of wealth can never be determined, but, if we include government expenses and those of the states, the destruction of property by both armies, and the value of slaves to the South, the war cost is estimated as not far from eight thousand millions of dollars.

Perhaps the most important result of the war was the abolition of slavery throughout the Union.[1] The Emancipation Procla-

[1] See Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution.

mation had set free only the slaves in those states and parts of states which had fought to destroy the Union; but by the Thirteenth Amendment, slavery was entirely abolished. With it were removed the attendant evils of state rights, nullification, and secession; and the supremacy of the Union was established. The United States, "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," then turned her energies to building up what had been torn down by four years of frightful havoc, the industries and wealth of her people.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Before studying the fall of Richmond, review the various attempts made by the Army of the Potomac to capture that city. Your review will include Bull Run, the Peninsular campaign, and the "On to Richmond" movement in 1864.
2. Study Lincoln's second inaugural and memorize his Gettysburg speech. The latter is one of our great literary masterpieces.
3. Describe Lee's retreat and his memorable surrender. Discuss the effect of Grant's generous terms.
4. What part did women play in the war?
5. What did the end of war mean: to the North? to the South? What issues were definitely settled that had persisted since the formation of the Federal Government?
6. What powers does the Constitution specifically deny the states the right to exercise? (See Section X, Constitution.)
7. What limitations are laid upon the powers of the United States Government by the Constitution? (See Amendments, Article X.)
8. Since only certain powers were delegated to the United States by the Constitution, the states must have retained extensive powers. Make a list of all the powers over your (the citizen's) life and conduct which each state retains and may exercise. Are the rights of the states still extensive even though the Union is supreme?
9. Read Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews's "Perfect Tribute," which finely portrays the character of Lincoln.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Grant, *Personal Memoirs;* Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, chap. XII; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 239–252; Morse, *Abraham Lincoln;* Gordy, *Abraham Lincoln*, 241–261; Page, *Robert E. Lee*, chaps. XXI, XXII; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*, 282–313; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, 129–147; Alcott, *Hospital Sketches.*

POETRY: Holmes, *View of the Loyal North* and *Our Country;* Stoddard, *Burial of Lincoln;* Longfellow, *Decoration Day.*

TO THE PRESENT

After a long and terrible civil war, our people awoke as from a dreadful dream. In the South they must build new homes and new schoolhouses, they must cultivate the ruined fields, they must start going the wheels of factories, they must find a way to live in peace with all men. In the North there must be conciliation, with the spirit of forgetting and forgiving the horrors of civil war. After the war and after the dark days of reconstruction, there arose a new South, a new North, a new America.

Then the soil began to yield abundant harvests, the factories to produce, as no one had dreamed they could produce, tools to work with and comforts for the home. Great lines of railroad were stretched from coast to coast, to carry to and fro the necessaries of life. Lines of telegraph were extended to the farthest corners of a land hitherto unknown. Again, crowds of European immigrants began to move into the free public lands of the West where they might raise bountiful crops and multiply many times the nation's food-supply. Coal and iron, the foundations of the world's industry, were mined in inexhaustible quantities; copper, silver, and gold

swelled enormously the nation's wealth. The hand of man took on a new cunning and applied steam and electricity to the making of things and to the distributing of things until people scarcely dared to dream of the future.

And yet men were not content. They combined to form great trusts for the control of business; those that work with their hands banded together for self-protection and self-improvement. So began a struggle between capital and labor. Out of this struggle has arisen a finer feeling for the rights of man, a finer idealism; not only a deeper respect for our own liberty-loving country, but an obligation to help the whole world to enjoy the happiness which comes from freedom and liberty. Then came the World War. With no consideration of material reward and without thought of the cost in money or lives, we entered this war with the determination to make the ideals of democracy the controlling force for the betterment of the world. In this stupendous struggle, we played our part, with honor and success, true to the ideals of our forefathers, strong with faith in the principles for which they have lived and fought and died.

Thus the interesting story of our past now comes to its end. The story of our future will be the record of the deeds of the boys and girls of to-day who have in their hands the destinies of our great republic.

A NATION INSPIRED TO ACHIEVEMENT AND SERVICE (1865–1921)

CHAPTER XIV

A NEW SOUTH ARISES FROM THE THROES OF RECONSTRUCTION (1865–1877)

A. Reconstruction Days

The wisdom and tact of Lincoln, such powerful influences during the war, were sorely missed in the days of reconstruction. The whole country was suffering from the strain of war, and the public debt was enormous. Private fortunes had disappeared and thousands of family circles had been broken by the loss of brave fathers, husbands, and brothers slain in battle. Conditions were most distressing in the South, where wasted plantations and ruined homes bore evidence of the destruction of war. There the work of building and restoring involved serious problems.

"What shall be done with the leading Confederates?" "How shall the millions of Southern negroes be cared for?" "In what way shall the seceded states be treated?" These were the perplexing questions of those trying times. It was hard to know what was best to do, so hard that men soon realized that with the surrender of Lee there came problems nearly as difficult to settle as those that had brought on the war.

What Lincoln said; what Johnson does.

In his first inaugural address Lincoln had declared: "No state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union." Four years later, in the hour of victory, he said, in effect: "We all agree that the seceded states, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, in regard to these states, is again to get them into relation. I believe it is easier to do this without deciding or even considering whether these states have ever been out of the

Union." Being strongly opposed to harsh measures against the Confederate leaders, he had, as early as 1863, worked out a plan of reconstruction which was characterized by his spirit of "Malice toward none and charity to all," but Congress rejected it. It is evident that even if Lincoln had lived throughout his second term, he would have had a struggle with that body over the conditions under which the seceded states could come back into working relations with the other states of the Union.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Andrew Johnson[1] succeeded to the presidency upon the death of his chief. Although he was a man of strong convictions and high purpose, he lacked the tact and persuasive power that gave Lincoln his remarkable influence over men. At the beginning of the war he had represented the State of Tennessee in the United States Senate as a Southern Democrat, and while he believed in state rights, he had no sympathy with the secession movement and remained loyal to the Union, refusing to resign his office.

When Johnson became President he took up his duties with a desire to give the country his most loyal service, and he adopted Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. He set about his heavy task with praiseworthy courage. By the middle of July (1865) he had taken the first steps toward restoring the eleven Confederate states to their place in the Union, and as Congress would not

[1] Andrew Johnson, the seventeenth President of the United States (1865–1869), was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1808, and died in 1875. His parents belonged to the class of people known as the "poor whites," and therefore his early advantages were extremely limited; but he was fearless, honest, energetic, and ambitious. He taught himself to read while apprenticed to a tailor, and after his marriage his wife taught him to write and cipher. While a young man he and his wife removed to Tennessee with his mother and sister, who were dependent upon him. There he gained the confidence of the people and occupied one public office after another until his election to the Senate of the United States. He was governor of Tennessee when he was elected Vice-President, and by the death of Lincoln he became President.

meet until December, for the time he could carry out his own ideas in regard to the South. He appointed provisional governors, who were to call upon the white voters in their respective states to elect delegates to the state conventions. Three measures were to be passed. They were: (1) To declare the Ordinance of Secession null and void; (2) to repudiate, or refuse to pay, the Confederate war-debt; and (3) to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery in the United States.[1] When these had been passed by all the seceded states, the President recognized the state governments and declared them ready to be represented in Congress (December, 1865). He believed that enough had been done to safeguard the results of the war, but Republican leaders in Congress did not agree with him.

Congress establishes the Freedmen's Bureau.

During this time the situation in the South was critical. The war had liberated 4,000,000 ignorant negroes, who, no longer under the care of masters, were destitute and in danger of starvation. Congress therefore established the Freedmen's Bureau (March, 1865) to help the negroes get a start in their new life of independence, to protect them from injustice, and to supply them with food and clothing. This assistance led many of the freedmen to believe that they need no longer work. They also ignorantly believed that the lands of their former masters were to be turned over by Congress to them, and that every negro was to have as his allotment "forty acres and a mule." With such high expectations even those who had been faithful workers in the days of slavery now spent their time in idleness. Many left the plantations in the summer of 1865 to go to towns and cities, and thus with almost no laborers the economic outlook on the plantations was most gloomy.

To prevent disorder and violence vagrancy laws were passed. For example, negroes found wandering about without work could be fined, and the white man who paid the fine could compel the

[1] This amendment did for the whole United States what the Emancipation Proclamation did for those seceded states and parts of seceded states which were waging war against the Union.

negro to work it out for him. Apprentice laws compelled young negroes to be bound out to white people, for whom they must work for no other pay than board and clothing, until a certain age was reached.

The congressional plan of reconstruction in the seceded states arouses bitter hostility in the President (1867).

Such laws, according to Charles Sumner in the Senate, Thaddeus Stevens in the House, and other Republican leaders in Congress, were proof that the Southern people would not treat the freedmen with justice, but that they would be ready, if they got the power, to reinstate slavery. Moreover, Stevens believed that the ex-Confederates who had plunged the country into a destructive war were still disloyal, and that they must not be allowed to regain the political power they had held before. His theory was that they had done wrong and must be punished.

When, therefore, Congress met in December, 1865, the Republicans, under the leadership of Stevens and Sumner, refused to admit the representatives and senators who had been elected under the President's plan. Johnson resented this action. He declared that Congress had no more right to keep a state out of the Union than a state had to secede from the Union. During a prolonged controversy he lost all sense of dignity and propriety in giving expression to his violent feelings. Soon his party in Congress turned against him, and as they numbered two-thirds of both the Senate and the House they could, in spite of his veto, enact any laws they pleased. Johnson accused them of keeping out the Southern representation for this specific purpose. But the more he accused, the more closely were the Republican ranks united against him.

By 1867 Congress worked out what it considered a simple and thorough plan of reconstruction and proceeded to put it into execution. With the exception of Tennessee, the South was divided into five military districts, each placed under the control of a general who had charge of the work of reconstruction in his district. By this plan also (1) the late Confederate leaders were excluded from voting or holding office until pardoned by Congress, and (2) the freedmen were given the ballot. In other

words, those who had been slaves were given large influence in public affairs, while many of their former masters were left without any political power. No seceded state could be represented in Congress except by observing these two provisions. To indicate its acceptance each state was to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.[1]

It is needless to say that the Southern people indignantly opposed these laws. They thought it unjust to deny the right of suffrage to the most intelligent and influential white men, and at the same time to give it to the ignorant negroes. But in June, 1868, seven[2] of the states had accepted these provisions, and their representatives were admitted again to Congress.

By January 30, 1871, the work of reconstruction had been completed, and all the states were again represented in Congress.

A bitter struggle ensues between the President and Congress (1867–1868).

Yet the quarrel with the President over the plan of reconstruction grew more and more violent. Congress continued to pass measures over his veto, and he continued to attack that body in his speeches. This most unfortunate and undignified contest reached a climax in the Tenure of Office Act. Up to that time it had been held that, although the President could appoint no high officials without the Senate's approval, he could remove them at his pleasure. But in March, 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, which provided that the President should not remove any such office-holder without the consent of the Senate. In August, during the congressional recess, Johnson removed from his cabinet Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, and appointed General Grant to fill the position. When the Senate met, it refused to sanction Stanton's removal, and General Grant withdrew.

[1] This made the freedmen citizens, declared that the Confederate leaders should not fill any public office until pardoned by Congress, and that while the debt of the Union should be paid, the debt of the Confederacy should not be paid. Tennessee was the first of the Confederate states to accept the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, and Congress voted, July 24, 1866, that she was entitled to representation.

[2] These states were Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

The President is impeached. The President, believing the Tenure of Office Act unconstitutional, refused to obey it, and again removed Secretary Stanton, putting General Thomas in his place. The House then impeached the President; that is, it accused him of failing in his duty as the executive head of the nation. He was tried before the Senate, which, as in all cases of impeachment, acted as a high court, Chief Justice Chase presiding. Although more than two-thirds of the senators were Republicans, seven of them voted for acquittal, making the vote thirty-five for conviction and nineteen for acquittal. As a two-thirds vote was necessary for conviction, the President had won by a single vote.

Suffrage among the negroes brings about great disorder in the South. Before the work of reconstruction was complete the Fifteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) had made the negro a freedman, the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) had made him a citizen, the Fifteenth Amendment (1870) made him a voter. The incorporation of these amendments in the Constitution was intended to protect the negro's freedom, citizenship, and suffrage against unfriendly state legislation, for no legislature could pass a law violating any clause in the Constitution. Since the negro now held the right of suffrage, his friends hoped that he might protect himself against oppression; but he was not prepared to become a voter or lawmaker. While a slave he had not only been kept in ignorance, but by his master's care for his wants had been deprived of all responsibility. One could hardly expect that at once he would become an intelligent voter.

With a clear understanding of the situation, Johnson opposed suffrage for the negroes, but Thaddeus Stevens and other Republican leaders hoped by giving them the vote to increase the power of the Republican party in the South. It was expected that of course the negroes would vote for the party that had granted them freedom. Bribes and other means were used, however, to keep them away from the polls, and when mild means failed, violence was resorted to. There was great disorder. The negroes were joined by a small number of white

men, some of whom were Southerners called "scalawags," and despised as traitors by the South; others were adventurers from the North called "carpetbaggers," because they were said to have brought all their possessions in their carpetbags. Doubtless some of these white men were honest in their convictions, but many of them used the negroes as tools for their own political advancement. They made bad laws and levied heavy taxes upon property owned mostly by the people, who could not vote. Vast sums of money were wasted or stolen, and state debts were enormously increased.

The Ku-Klux Klan (1868–1871).

Naturally, men of property and intelligence resented these unjust practices and determined to stop them. By employing peaceable means some states soon came under the control of the white voters. In other states, especially where there were more negroes than white people, such a result was not so easily accomplished. There attempts were made to terrify the freedmen. Much of this terrorizing was carried on under the name of a secret society called the Ku-Klux Klan, which became active throughout the South.

THE KU-KLUX SEARCHING A NEGRO'S CABIN.
From a drawing by B. West Clinedinst.

At first it was a sort of police organized by the young men of Tennessee as a pleasurable means of keeping the negroes under control by working upon their superstitions. Its members wore hideous masks and disguises, and did most of their work at night. As disorder increased, "dens," or Ku-Klux societies, multiplied, especially in those states where the negroes were in

a majority. Usually the knowledge that a "den" was organized in the vicinity was sufficient to terrify them into submission. When that was not enough, the Ku-Klux Klan, or men who pretended to belong to the society, began to whip, maim, and even murder the freedmen and their white Republican friends. Finally, law-abiding citizens of both parties, aided by the national government, united to put down the disorder.

Unfortunately, President Grant sends troops to the South.

The reconstructed governments that were in the hands of the negroes, assisted by their white friends, appealed to President Grant[1] for national troops to help them maintain order. These were sent, but before 1877 the white voters gained control in all but three states—South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. In these the presence of federal bayonets in aid of the reconstructed governments greatly irritated the white citizens, who had thus been prevented from getting complete political control. The North did not clearly understand the situation, and the South found it hard to yield to the changed conditions. Although partisan feeling was the cause of many mistakes, there was honest effort on each side to make the best of the situation.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Try to get a picture of the distressing conditions in the South at the close of the Civil War, and write a story of a returning Confederate soldier to his home in the war-swept Shenandoah Valley. Write a story of a Northern soldier's return to his home.
2. Discuss Lincoln's idea of restoring the seceded states. Had he lived, do you think he would have had the same difficulty with Congress that Johnson had?
3. What were the political views of President Johnson? What steps did he take to restore the seceded states before the meeting of Congress in 1865? Compare with Lincoln's policy.
4. Before Congress met what laws were passed by Southern legislatures, and with what effect? Why, then, did Congress refuse to admit representatives and senators from the seceded states?

[1] Ulysses S. Grant (see previous sketch on page 345) was eighteenth President of the United States (1869–1877). After retiring from public life at the end of his second term he made a tour of the world, and wherever he went he received the honors due a distinguished man.

5. What were the two essential features of the congressional plan of reconstruction? Do you think this plan was fair to the South?
6. You will observe the increasing bitterness of the disagreement between Johnson and Congress. Why did Congress impeach the President? Which do you think was right about the Tenure of Office Act, the President or Congress? Give reasons for your answer.
7. What effect did the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments have upon the political status of the negro? What kind of voter and lawmaker did he make?
8. Note the dates, 1865–1871, of this reconstruction period and bear in mind the fact that Andrew Johnson was President nearly four of these years. His administration was, in some ways, as critical as that of President Lincoln during the Civil War, 1861–1865. These two groups of dates are important enough for you to know them accurately.
9. Read the pages of McCulloch's "Men and Measures of Half a Century" that refer to the difficult problem of reconstruction, and "The Aftermath of War" in Haworth's "United States in Our Own Time."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, 148–214; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 254–275; Andrews, *History of the United States*, II, 194–202; Schouler, *History of the United States*, VII, chap. I; Grady, *The New South;* Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution;* Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VI, chap. XXX; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 599–633.

FICTION: Tourgee, *A Fool's Errand;* Harris, *On the Plantation;* Harris, *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings;* Page, *Red Rock.*

B. A New South Arises

President Hayes wisely withdraws federal troops from the South.

When Hayes[1] became President many of the problems of reconstruction were still unsolved. He nevertheless withdrew the federal troops from the South, leaving the Southern people to settle their difficulties alone. This was a wise measure, for the presence of the soldiers kept the South in a state of irritation against the na-

[1] Rutherford B. Hayes, nineteenth President of the United States (1877–1881), was born in Delaware, Ohio, in 1822, and died in Fremont, Ohio, in 1893. After being graduated from Kenyon College he studied law at Harvard University. Entering the Union army during the Civil War, his gallantry and meritorious service led to his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general. In 1865 he resigned his commission because he had been elected to represent his district in Congress. Three times he was elected governor of Ohio. His popularity in that state had a large influence in securing his nomination by the Republicans for the presidency.

tional government. The troops had supported the Republican state governments, but as soon as they were withdrawn the Democrats took control. The South then became "solid"; that is, the solid white[1] vote was in control and was Democratic.

Agriculture in the New South shows marked changes in three ways—in smaller farms, in better methods of tilling the soil, and in a larger number of independent farmers among the negroes.

As political conditions in the South became peaceful, industrial life took a new start. We have already noted that before the war the Southern people believed that slavery was necessary for the cultivation of their chief crops, especially cotton. Statistics show how greatly they erred. The largest cotton-crop under slavery was about 4,500,000 bales (1860); in 1919 it was more than 11,300,000 bales. The South now furnishes about three-fourths of the world's supply of cotton.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

This great increase in production is due to changes in methods of cultivating the soil that have taken place since the days of slavery. After the war the owners of large plantations had little but land. They could no longer control great gangs of slaves to cultivate their cotton-fields, and could not hire enough free labor to carry on their work, because most of the freedmen would not work steadily.

Many of the planters, therefore, sold their land and moved into towns or cities, or to the West. Others cut up their plantations into small farms, which they rented or sold. These smaller farms, more carefully tended and more thoroughly worked, became more productive.

Formerly it often happened that the planter had to buy meat which was needed in his household. But in the New South the planters and farmers thought it worth while to raise hogs

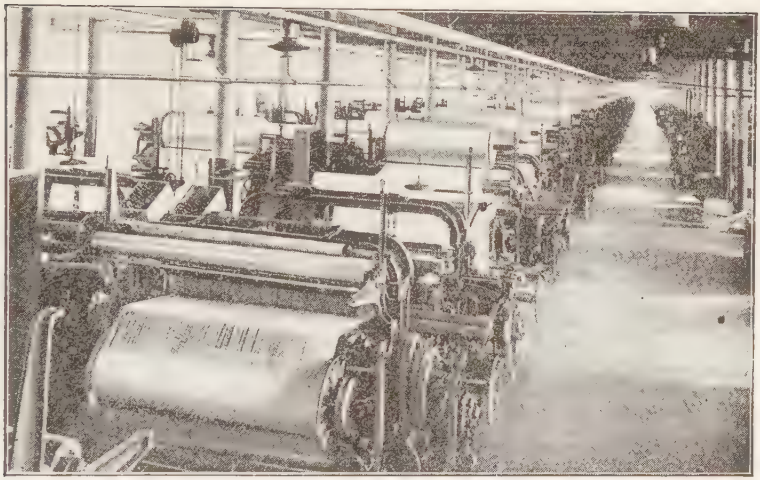
[1] Only a small fraction of the white voters joined the negroes in voting the Republican ticket.

AN ELECTRIC COTTON-PICKING MACHINE IN CONTRAST TO A SCENE OF PRE-CIVIL-WAR DAYS, WHEN COTTON WAS PICKED BY HAND.

and cattle and also a variety of crops. Besides, they took advantage of "crop rotation," or planting various crops in successive years; and by fertilizers they preserved the richness of the soil. An excellent local fertilizer was made by grinding up phosphate rocks, which were found in great beds along the Southern coast. All these improvements contributed to the large increase per acre in cotton production.

Within recent years it has often happened that the men renting the land, both white men and negroes, have made

A HAND-LOOM OF COLONIAL DAYS.



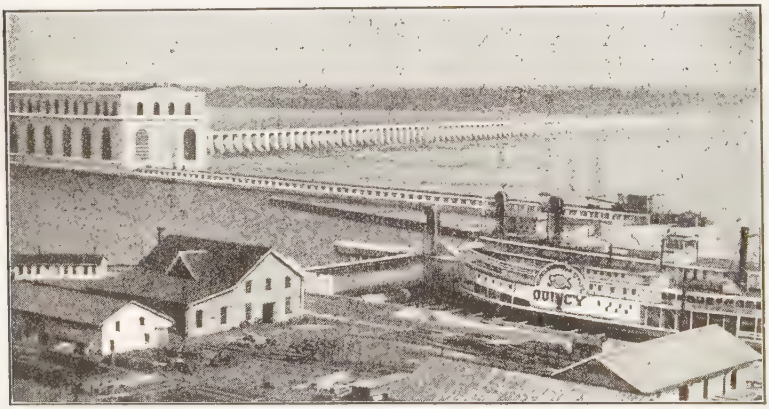
ABOVE, POWER-LOOMS IN A MODERN COTTON-MILL COVERING ACRES OF GROUND. RIGHT, WEAVING-ROOM IN A NORTH CAROLINA COTTON-MILL.

enough to buy farms for themselves. Several hundred thousand negro families are now renting farms, and nearly half as many own farms free from debt or under mortgage. Of all the cotton raised in the South to-day, the negro farmers produce about half.

Industry takes on a new life in the South.

Moreover, the South no longer confined itself to agriculture, to which the slave system of labor was best fitted. Although before the Civil War, and even for ten years afterward, there was little manufacturing in the Southern states, since that time there has been a colossal development of manufacturing in various parts of the South. In many communities of the cotton belt, for instance, hundreds of villages have been transformed into thriving and important business centres.

South Carolina is a good example of what the manufacture of cotton products has done for the South. Before the war this state was almost wholly given up to the growing of cotton, and was poor. Now it contains hundreds of cotton-mills, is prosperous, and stands second among all the states in the manufacture of cotton goods. To-day the cotton-mills and



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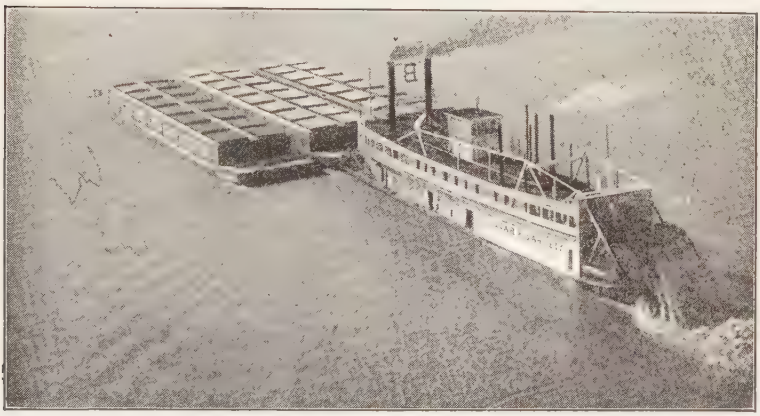
KEOKUK DAM ACROSS THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI AT KEOKUK, IOWA.
With power-house for converting water-power into electricity.

factories of the South make about half of the cotton goods produced in the whole country.

Manufacturing is greatly aided by the vast supply of coal in the mountain regions of Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, West Virginia, and the Carolinas. There is also an abundance of water-power from the many rivers flowing east, west, and south from the Appalachian Mountains. This region may in time take the lead of the world in the production of iron and steel. Its great iron and steel mills produce as much as those of Pennsylvania; Birmingham, in northern Alabama, is in reality the Pittsburgh of the South. Moreover, in widely distributed areas there are vast stretches of pine and hardwood forests, which supply raw material for sawmills and furniture factories. It is of great advantage that the sources of supply of raw materials, cotton, iron, coal, and lumber, are so close at hand, thus reducing their cost to the manufacturer.

The new era in industry calls for enlarged transportation facilities.

The marketing of finished goods produced in these huge and varied manufacturing plants required enlarged transportation facilities. Before the war there were few railroads, the network of rivers forming natural highways for trade, except in mountainous regions.



TRANSPORTING FREIGHT ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Government barges loaded from grain elevators at St. Louis on the way to Southern seaports for shipment.

Since the war and the remarkable growth of industry, railroads have extended, as in other parts of the country, in every direction. Now they connect the farms, mines, forests, and factories with the cities, and these cities with the cities of the North, while the transcontinental Southern Pacific puts such cities as New Orleans and Galveston in touch with Los Angeles and San Francisco and the whole Pacific coast.

The most important highway of trade in the South is still the Mississippi River. Formerly mud bars filled the channel at its mouth, preventing the passage of heavy ships. James B. Eads held that if the mouth of the river was made narrow, a swifter current would make and keep the channel free from deposits of mud. Therefore he proposed the "jetty system," which kept the channel sufficiently deep to float the heaviest steamships up the river as far as New Orleans. This gigantic

undertaking has brought great increase of wealth not only to New Orleans but to the whole country.

The smaller rivers running from the mountains to the sea have had their water-power converted into electricity, which has been utilized for lighting city streets and buildings, propelling trolley-cars, and driving fixed machinery in factories. In some cases this power has been transmitted scores of miles to the cities where it may serve the needs of the people.

This new era in industry leads to remarkable growth of cities and complete systems of public schools.

The industrial revolution has brought with it changes in social conditions also. Before the Civil War the South was chiefly rural and had few large cities. Now there are fourteen, each with a population of over 75,000. Many of these have had a remarkable growth and all are important markets,[1] connecting the agricultural and commercial interests.

The development of the South has been sound and rapid, like that of the West. Northern capital has flowed in; men from the North and immigrants from Europe have joined the ranks of the workers. The large class known as poor whites before the war has gradually disappeared. Some of them have become skilled artisans, carpenters, blacksmiths, and the like; some, as already stated, are landowners; and still others are employed in the mills and factories. No longer are the large landowners the only prominent men of the South. Business men share in the control of affairs, and all classes contribute directly to the life of the community. The South has ceased to be sectional; her interests and feelings are national.

There has also been a marked advance in education. Before the Civil War, as we know, there were few schools; now every state has a complete system of public education, in which both white and colored children may receive at least an elementary education. Colored children are taught by colored teachers and their schools are supported by public taxation. Thousands

[1] Among those cities which have had a notable increase in population are New Orleans, Louisville, Atlanta, Birmingham, Richmond, Dallas, Nashville, Jacksonville, Winston, and Spartanburg.

of high schools, also, have been established, and there are many colleges, universities, industrial schools, and normal schools for the training of teachers. As elsewhere in our country during the last forty years, there has been a large decrease in the number of adults who can neither read nor write.

A great advance has been made in the education of the negro.

Industrial education is helping in the solution of the perplexing race problem in the South. Large sums have been spent upon negro education, the states cheerfully taxing themselves to give the freedmen a start in life. The North has helped in generous con-

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA.

tributions for the same purpose. The fund of $3,500,000 given by George Peabody for education in the South, and $1,000,000 by John F. Slater for educating the freedmen in the South, aided by the immense work of various religious denominations, are rapidly improving the social and political conditions of that region.

Such institutions as Hampton Institute (Hampton, Virginia), Fiske University (Nashville), and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (Tuskegee, Alabama) give young colored men and women the training best suited to make them leaders among

their people in all parts of the South. Although in 1865 the freedmen had no property, they now own in the whole country property worth many hundred million dollars. This is evidence of their marvellous progress industrially; and the industrial training of the normal schools for the colored people is extending their opportunities.

Booker T. Washington gives sound advice toward the solution of the race problem.

Even with these helpful influences, the race problem throughout the South is complex and difficult, especially in those states where the negroes outnumber the white population. But in some sections they are segregating in black belts where they are free to develop their own communities. Booker T. Washington gave his people the soundest advice when he urged them to make themselves of value to their community by fitting themselves for their best productive service in whatever form of labor they might undertake.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Note the dates of the period you are now beginning to study. Give in order the Presidents and the dates of their administrations, up to the time of Hayes's administration, and associate each President with the leading movement, issue, or event of his time.
2. Why did President Hayes withdraw the federal troops from the South? Do you think his action was wise? Give reasons for your answer. Explain what is meant by the "Solid South" and why it is "solid."
3. In studying the "New South" note such topics as cotton, a revolution in agriculture, railroads, manufacturing, natural mineral resources. By a careful study of these topics you will see clearly how different is the "New South" without slavery from the "Old South" with slavery. What has been done for the education of the freedmen, and with what results?
4. Discuss the race problem in the South in its social, political, and economic aspects. Are there possible solutions?
5. For definite ideas about the "New South" read Grady's "The New South" and Washington's "Up from Slavery."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 273–277; Schouler, *History of the United States*, VII; Paxson, *The New Nation*; Burgess, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*; Grady, *The New South*; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VI, 179–192; Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, chap. III; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, 286–302.

CHAPTER XV

"A MIGHTY NATION MOVING WEST" (1865–1890)

The Western frontier opens the door of opportunity.

The Western frontier, from colonial days onward, opened the door of opportunity to all who wished to escape the limitations of life in the more thickly settled regions of the East. Just as colonists and immigrants came to America because they believed their chances for success would be better here, so men and women in this country have looked to the West as a place where all who wished could build homes for themselves and be assured of a prosperous future. Nowhere has equality of opportunity been so nearly realized as in the midst of frontier surroundings where perseverance, industry, initiative, and thrift have been the qualities necessary to win success. They have been the only capital that the great majority of Western pioneers possessed, except the small household equipment packed in the prairie-schooner and hauled by oxen or horses to the land of promise. But, confident of themselves and optimistic of the future, they have constantly kept alive the great American ideal of democracy.

Our history is largely the story of important westward movements.

Our history has been largely the story of continuous westward movements from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At the close of the Revolution (1783) the area of settlement was confined, for the most part, between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. By 1825 it had reached the Mississippi, by 1850 the Missouri,[1] and by 1890 the Pacific coast.[2] It is interesting to observe that while the area of settlement was about one hundred and fifty years in reaching the Alleghanies, after that time the westward advance was wonderfully rapid. The marvellous expansion after 1825 was due first

[1] The gold-mining region of California is not here taken into account.

[2] In 1889 North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington were admitted to the Union, in 1890 Idaho and Wyoming, in 1896 Utah, in 1907 Oklahoma, and in 1912 Arizona and New Mexico, making the number of states in the Union forty-eight.

of all to the opening of the fertile prairies which, being almost free from trees, were easily brought under cultivation. Such an opportunity naturally attracted not only the rapidly increasing population of the East, but also the immigrants from Europe.

ABOVE, GASOLENE TRACTORS BREAKING GROUND WITH GANG-PLOWS, IN COLORADO. BELOW, GASOLENE TRACTORS PREPARING THE SOIL, FOLLOWED BY ONE PULLING A WHEAT-DRILL FOR PLANTING, IN NEW JERSEY.

While in the forest-covered regions farther east from forty to fifty days' labor was required to clear an acre of land for tillage, in the prairie region only three or four days were necessary.

Improved farm machinery lures people to the prairies.

At the same time that these people were flocking to the West there came a great improvement in farm machinery, which enabled men to plow, cultivate, or harvest a large acreage with a small labor force. Al-

though on the prairies productive seasons were irregular, and crops often failed on account of droughts, yet men were willing to take the risks with the prospect of large returns in the good seasons.

The McCormick reaper, which, as we have seen, came into use about 1850, had a great influence. Drawn by two horses,

HARVESTING BY TRACTOR, IN CONTRAST TO THE FIRST McCORMICK REAPER AND THE EARLIER METHOD OF CRADLING (BELOW).

it could do as much as twenty men using the "cradle." Yet it was but a beginning. After the reaper came the self-binder, which not only cut the grain but bound it into bundles. Then followed the steam-driven thresher, and that has given place to the combined reaper and thresher. This complex machine, which is in general use on the vast wheat-farms of California and the Northwest, is either drawn by thirty or more horses or propelled by steam or gasolene. It cuts, threshes, cleans, and measures the grain, and puts it into bags. Tended by four men it will harvest 3,000 bushels in a day.

Almost equally noteworthy have been the changes of method in breaking up the soil before planting or sowing the grain. The cast-iron plow was a great advance upon the wooden mould-board of colonial days, but the pressing need for something to do the work on the large farms of the West led to the invention of the gang-plow. The steam-engine often used on large farms draws from

ABOVE, THRESHING WHEAT IN KANSAS. BELOW, MINNEAPOLIS FLOUR-MILLS, WITH A BIT OF THE INTERIOR OF A FLOUR-MILL AT THE RIGHT.

eight to twelve plows in gang at one time and plows in a ten-hour-day from twenty-five to forty-five acres. The gas or oil burning tractor now in common use is of various sizes, from those small enough for garden work to those that can draw a gang of plows with harrows and seeders attached.

In addition to the gang-plow and the reaping and threshing machines, other inventions, including manure-spreaders, corn-planters, potato-planters, and hay-stackers, are now extensively used by the farmers in this country. Without these

new types of labor-saving machinery the task of breaking up the prairies and developing the great corn and wheat belts could not have been accomplished. With their aid wonderful harvests are gathered in the great wheat-belts, such as were not dreamed of in the earlier days of hand implements.

Results of these westward movements.

The great waves of migration westward have produced two outstanding results: (1) In the East they have made labor scarce and wages, therefore, high. (2) They have led to an enormous increase in food products, and thereby have lowered the cost of food. Both of these results have contributed to the general welfare of the country, and they help us to understand why the settlement of the West has had so large an influence upon our economic life.

The great question of immigration—character and value of immigrants to the United States.

A reference to the table of population for the United States, according to the census taken every ten years, from 1790 to 1920,[1] will show that the increase has been exceedingly rapid. In 1900 the population was 75,568,686; in 1910 it was

[1] POPULATION, 1790–1920

1790	3,929,214	1860	31,443,321
1800	5,308,483	1870	38,558,371
1810	7,239,881	1880	50,155,783
1820	9,633,822	1890	62,622,250
1830	12,866,020	1900	75,568,686
1840	17,069,453	1910	[1]91,972,266
1850	23,191,876	1920	[2]105,708,771

IMMIGRATION, 1820–1920

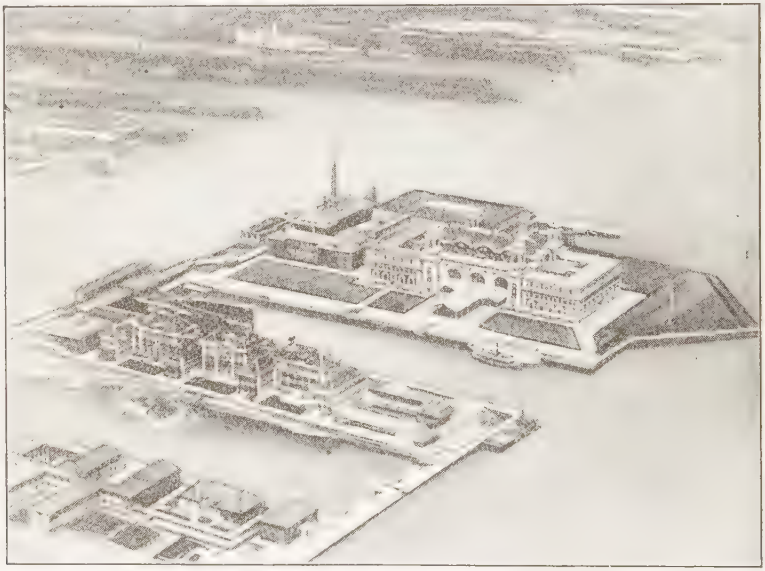
1820–1840	750,949	1881–1890	5,238,728
1841–1850	1,713,251	1891–1900	3,687,564
1851–1860	2,598,214	1901–1910	8,796,308
1861–1870	2,466,752	1911–1920	5,705,811
1871–1880	2,944,695		23,428,411
	10,473,861	Total, 1820–1920,	33,902,272

[1] On account of the World War, the number of immigrants during the decade of 1911–1920 was much reduced.

[2] This includes the population of the forty-eight states and the District of Columbia.

91,972,266; in 1920 it was 105,708,771, making the rate of increase about one and one-half millions a year.

A comparison of the table of population with the table of immigration will show that between 1860 and 1920 a large part of the increase was due to immigration. From 1820 to 1920 almost 34,000,000 foreign immigrants came to the United States.



ELLIS ISLAND IMMIGRATION STATION, NEW YORK, AS SEEN FROM AN AIRPLANE. NEW YORK HARBOR DOCKS IN BACKGROUND.

In the decade preceding the census of 1910 the number reached over eight and a half millions, and during the years 1881–1920 immigrants swarmed into the United States at an average rate of nearly 600,000 a year; that is, nearly two-thirds of all the foreign immigration since 1820 came into this country during the last forty years.

It is estimated that the better classes of immigrants brought with them an average of at least $80 each, making a very large sum in the aggregate. If we add to it their contribution to the nation's wealth by the product of their labor the total is too

large to estimate. Without foreign immigrants, many of whom were skilled laborers and have made valuable citizens, it would have been impossible to develop the resources and increase the wealth of the country so rapidly.

Between 1880 and 1914 the character of the immigrants in general was very different from what it had been before. Pre-

IMMIGRANTS WAITING TO BE PASSED FOR ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES, ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK.

vious to 1880 most of them came from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Many of the Germans made their homes along the western shores of Lake Michigan in northern Illinois and Wisconsin. Most of the Scandinavians—Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes—with the exception of those who remained in the states of the Atlantic seaboard, settled in large numbers in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. They were thrifty, industrious, and intelligent people who built up prosperous farming communities and organized schools, colleges, and churches.

Since 1880 the great majority of immigrants have come from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. For nearly twenty years before the outbreak of the World War (1914), not far from 90 per cent of all the immigrants were from eastern and southern Europe. Most of them could not read or write their own language and were unskilled workmen. These for the most part remained in the industrial centres of the East.

Our vast areas of public lands have had a large influence upon our recent history.

The foundation for our extraordinary national growth and increase in population has been the vast area of the public lands. These, as we know, have been sold for very small sums in order to get them under cultivation. To promote further settlement the government in 1841 changed its policy of selling these lands for public revenue to the system called pre-emption.[1] By that system Congress began to sell farms on the public lands at the low price of $1.25 an acre, upon condition that the purchaser would occupy and cultivate the land.

Easy as these terms were, more liberal ones were desired. The people in the West believed that the land belonged to the whole people and that the United States should grant free homes on the public domain. Finally, after much debate, Congress passed, in 1862, the Homestead Bill. This enabled settlers, on condition of actual settlement, to secure farms of 160 acres free of payment, except a small fee for legal expenses. The method proved very successful in establishing new communities, thereby increasing the value of the lands and the stability of the nation.

The Indians oppose the settlements in the West.

As settlements moved westward the Indians often blocked the way. Resentful at being crowded back from one hunting-ground to another, they sometimes made savage attacks upon the settlers. One was made by the fierce tribe of Sioux Indians in 1876. Under the leadership of their famous chief, Sitting Bull, they attacked settlers in the gold regions of the Black Hills in Dakota, and United States troops

[1] Pre-emption gave the settler the first right of purchase as against the investor or speculator.

were sent to restore order in their reservation. An unfortunate incident during the campaign was the attack on General Custer and 260 troopers, who were suddenly surrounded one day by twelve times their number of Indians, and every one of them killed. But the Sioux were forced to cede the Black Hills country.

The extinction of the buffaloes is an irreparable loss to the Indian.

This was the last important stand made by the Indians against the westward progress of settlement. Their inevitable submission was due not so much to the superior fighting of the American soldiers as to the destruction of the buffaloes, which had long been the main support of the tribes of the plains, supplying them with food and material for clothing and shelter.

Even down to the decade following the Civil War, buffaloes had roamed over the plains in millions. In 1868 it required three days for General Sheridan and his escort to ride through a single immense herd; and in the same year a railroad-train ran more than one hundred and twenty miles through an almost unbroken stretch of these shaggy beasts. But with the building of the railroad from the Mississippi westward their doom was marked, for it brought skin-hunters in great numbers, who sought buffalo-robes for the Eastern markets. It is estimated that in the three years of 1872–1874 at least 5,000,000 buffaloes were killed, and that by 1887 only a few hundred were left in scattered herds in the whole country. The practical extermination of "plains-cattle" was a great loss to the Indian. Deprived of his means of support, he was forced to become a man of peace, taking his place submissively on the reservation which the white man allotted him.

We cannot restrain a feeling of sympathy for the Indian as he was constantly pushed westward to the less desirable lands and hunting-grounds. But when we realize that in our United States now over 100,000,000 people live where perhaps 500,000 Indians lived in 1492, and that certain of our states under intensive cultivation could support our entire population if necessary, we are led to the conclusion that the Indian was doomed to extinction unless he adopted the ways of civilized people. Be-

tween savagery and civilization there could be no compromise. The resources of such a wonderful continent could not be kept permanently out of use on the ground of prior ownership by roving bands of an uncivilized race.

Yet our policy with the Indians has not always been just. Whenever we needed their hunting-grounds for settlement, we broke treaty after treaty with them. Only tardily did the government adopt the plan of educating them as wards of the nation, a plan fully justified by the peaceful reservations where the Indians have now taken up the ways of civilized life.

An Indian reservation system is established but is unsatisfactory.

The reservation[1] system was adopted within a year after the Custer massacre. By its terms the Indians agreed to live upon land specified by the government. There they might continue their tribal organizations, and, in return for the land which they gave up, our national government agreed to allow them every year a quantity of food, ammunition, and other supplies. The food-supplies were to make up for the loss of the hunting-grounds, because hunting was the Indians' principal means of support, and ammunition was to help them secure such game as their reservation supplied. The government also made liberal promises for the comfort, education, and civilization of these Indians. The reservation system was, however, not altogether satisfactory. It removed the Indians too completely from the civilizing influence of the white people, and by supplying so much of what they had been accustomed to get by their own efforts, it robbed them of their spirit of self-reliance. It tended to make them paupers.

Therefore the policy of individual ownership is substituted.

Therefore, in 1887, a new policy within the reservation was adopted. Its leading purpose was to induce the Indians to give up their method of living together as tribes and to live as white races do. According to the plan, each family was to have a farm of 160 acres and a share of the money from the land sales of the remainder of the reservations. A large part of the Indians now living in the

[1] There were already many Indians on the great reservation called Indian Territory.

United States have adopted this plan of individual ownership of land. It is hoped that in the course of time all will do the

GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA.

The photograph at the top was taken April 24, 1889, the other sixteen days later, May 10, 1889, showing Oklahoma Avenue.

same. Individual ownership, combined with industrial training and general education, will make the Indian a useful citizen.

Oklahoma is opened to settlement and shows a marvellous growth as a territory and as a state (1889).

The Indian reservation system was really initiated in 1834, in Jackson's administration. To the Indian Territory, as it was named, were transferred the five tribes, called civilized, then living within the present limits of the Southern states. They were the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees,

Creeks, and Seminoles. But as time passed and the white population increased in that vicinity, a part of the territory known as Oklahoma was especially coveted by settlers. The United States, therefore, purchased this part from the Indians in 1880, and President Harrison, by proclamation, declared it

From a photograph, Department of Interior.

STRAWBERRY VALLEY, UTAH—DESERT LANDS MADE PRODUCTIVE BY IRRIGATION.

open to settlement. By nightfall of the day of occupation (April 22, 1889) several thousand farm claims were staked out for entry and many town sites were laid out. Before the year closed the territory numbered about 60,000 people, 8,000 of whom were in Guthrie and 5,000 in Oklahoma City. The population of Oklahoma in 1920 was a little over 2,000,000. In 1907 this territory and Indian Territory were **admitted** into the Union as one state, Oklahoma.

The Mormons move to Utah and convert a desert region into one of remarkable fertility.

Among the many settlers of the West was a religious people who wished to enjoy their forms of worship and social customs without hindrance. The main body of these people, under the leadership of Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, settled at

Commerce, Illinois, in 1839, and built up the city of Nauvoo. Smith claimed to receive revelations from God, and to have discovered the Book of Mormon, which, according to his teaching, is a religious record of prehistoric America, containing the pure Gospel of Christ. He was the founder of the Church of Jesus

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MAIN STREET, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

At left, the spires of the Mormon Temple and Sea-Gull Monument, erected in memory of the threatened destruction of the first Mormon crop by crickets, prevented by the timely arrival of the sea-gulls.

Christ of Latter-Day Saints, otherwise known as Mormons. They prospered at Nauvoo, but had trouble with some of the people of Illinois, and their leader fell a victim to mob violence. On account of these troubles the Mormons broke up their settlement and went into the wilderness to find a place where they could live in peace and safety and in accordance with their own belief. Under their new prophet, Brigham Young, they emigrated to the desert region of Salt Lake Valley. There they

endured many hardships, but with industry and thrift they transformed the sun-baked desert region[1] by irrigation into a country of almost unbelievable productiveness.

Reasons for opposing the increasing immigration of Chinese and Japanese to the Pacific coast.

Another increase of population in the Far West came from the Far East, at first in comparatively small numbers, at length in such large bodies as to cause a demand for restrictive measures. These people were Chinese laborers. In 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed to prevent their further immigration into the United States. Although not more than 100,000 Chinese were then in this country, 75,000 being in California, the American people, especially those on the Pacific coast, were bitterly opposed to any further immigration from China. For this opposition there were several reasons: (1) The Chinese brought no families with them, because they did not intend to remain and become citizens; they showed little interest in American affairs and almost no inclination to adopt our customs. (2) As they lived more frugally than the white people, eating little but rice, they could work for lower wages, and for this reason they were industrially a menace to our American laborers. (3) It was feared in the Pacific states that in time they might arrive in such vast numbers as to become a danger to our institutions.

In spite of the Exclusion Act some Chinese laborers found ways of entering the United States, although by 1910 the number in the whole country had been reduced to 72,000. At that time about an equal number of Japanese had come and were living in the same region as the Chinese. The feeling against them as laborers, especially in the states on the Pacific coast, became so intense that in 1907 a treaty with Japan was agreed upon, including a clause which declared our right to exclude Japanese laborers. As the Japanese Government represented

[1] This they did by flooding the hard, dry soil with water from the mountain streams. With great labor they dug ditches, or trenches, by which the water was conducted to the sun-baked land, and by a network of smaller ditches the soil was watered and made productive. Such a method of watering the soil is called irrigation.

SPANNING THE CONTINENT BY RAIL.

On May 10, 1869, at Ogden, Utah, railroad communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific was established by the joining of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads. The event was witnessed by American engineers, officials, and soldiers, as well as Chinese, Indian, Mexican, and negro workmen, suggesting the cosmopolitanism of the United States.

From a painting by Walter H. Everett.

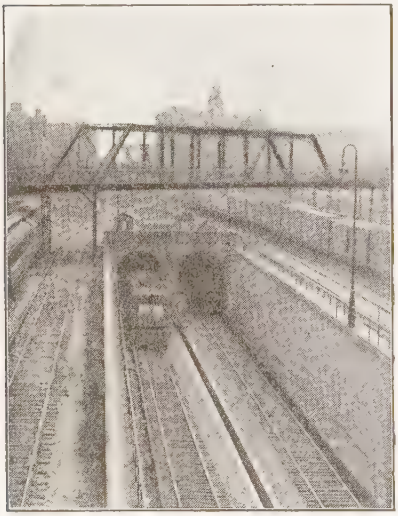
that we placed no such restriction in our treaties with European countries, in another treaty (1911) this clause was omitted. But there is an understanding between the two countries by which Japanese immigration is restricted as before.

Other exclusion laws were passed for the purpose not only of keeping out undesirable aliens but also of reducing the number of aliens who may be allowed to enter the country. The law which excluded Chinese laborers in 1882 also provided that such undesirable persons as anarchists, criminals, paupers, and persons having contagious diseases should be forbidden entrance into the United States. A further attempt to reduce the number of newcomers and increase the standard of intelligence among them was made when Congress passed, over President Wilson's veto, a law (1917) which excludes all persons who cannot read their own language.

Railroads to the Pacific bind the Far West to the East and South.

Another important feature in Western development which went with the taking up of new lands was improved transportation facilities. The first transcontinental railroad, the Union and Central Pacific, now the Union Pacific, completed in 1869, was built by the aid of the government, to connect the Pacific states with the East and to induce further settlement. In order to encourage railroad-building, Congress had passed a law (1862) granting to the two railroad companies—the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific—twenty sections of land for every mile of the entire length of the railroad, and also a loan of many million dollars. This railroad extended from Omaha to San Francisco. Six years were spent in building it, one party working east from San Francisco and the other west from Omaha. They met at Ogden, Utah (1869). Since that time six other railroads to the Pacific have been completed, so that there are seven great trunk lines connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific coast. Their value to the United States can hardly be estimated, for they have brought into use immense areas of land. Without these roads and their network of branches in all directions through the agricultural and mining regions of the West, the settlements made in the last fifty years would have been impossible.

At the close of the Revolution, Frederick of Prussia declared that no single republic could be held together in a territory so vast as that stretching from Maine to Georgia. He believed it would break into sections or give place to a monarchy. The English king, George III, shared this belief. A similar argument was made by United States Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina, when the Oregon country came under discussion in 1843. This senator urged that such a far-off land could never become an integral part of the United States; that it would require ten months out of every twelve for the representatives in Congress from a state so remote to go to and from the capitol at Washington. But we can now make that same journey in less time than it took John Adams to go from Boston to Philadelphia in the days of the Continental Congress. Steam and electricity, applied to the railroad and the telegraph, enable us to maintain a republic over an area of vast extent. It is difficult to see how, without them, the North, the South, the East, and the West, with their widely differing interests, could be held together in one great Union.



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ELECTRIC TRAIN EMERGING FROM STEEL TUBE FROM UNDER THE DETROIT RIVER, MICHIGAN CENTRAL R. R., DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

The transcontinental railroads furnish the short Northwest passage to the Orient.

The effects of the transcontinental railroads on international trade, also, have been marked. Americans in the nineteenth century have found what Europeans so eagerly sought in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries — a short northwest passage to China, Japan, and the East Indies. Formerly, vessels with tea from China and spices from the East Indies sailed around

Cape Horn and reached our Eastern coast after a five or six months' voyage. Now cargoes of these products are brought to San Francisco or Seattle and reshipped by rail to New York, the whole distance being covered in five or six weeks. The railroads

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, A BIG CITY OF THE NORTHWEST.
In 1886 a trading port of 4,000 people; in 1921 its estimated population was 375,000.

to the Pacific have thus not only shortened the journey between Asia and the United States but have reduced the cost of goods by diminishing freight charges.

Gold is discovered in Colorado.

The incidents leading up to the building of the first great transcontinental railroad form an interesting chapter in our history. About five years before this railroad was begun some miners found (1858) rich deposits of gold in what was then a part of Kansas. To-day we call it Colorado, and the place where the mines were discovered, Leadville. People flocked to Leadville as they had flocked to Sacramento in 1850, and round this new centre towns and cities began to grow up. During the years of the Civil War rich mines of gold and silver were discovered in Nevada, Idaho, and Montana, and in 1874 gold deposits were

found in the Black Hills of Dakota Territory. Later, extensive copper-mines were developed in the Northwest, principally about the Butte, Montana, district, that far exceed the gold and silver mining of that region in value of output.

A "pony express" is established.

In order to keep in touch with the East, settlers in the Far West established in 1860 a "pony express" between Leavenworth and Denver. By this route, afterward extended to Sacramento, letters and newspapers were carried two hundred and fifty miles a day. W. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) was one of the post riders.

The pony express was an important step in uniting the East with the West. Its story is full of adventure, although it lasted only about a year and a half, before giving place to the telegraph. In October, 1860, the first telegraph-line across the continent was completed. At the same time the overland coach was started. This carried passengers and freight as well as newspapers and letters.

Alaska is purchased by the United States, no one realizing its wonderful possibilities.

Not only by the extension of railroads and the telegraph did the nation increase in power. A territorial expansion was effected by the purchase of Alaska.[1] This extensive region, equal in area to about 120 states of the size of Connecticut, was purchased from Russia in 1867 for $7,200,000. As it appeared to be a vast stretch of frozen and almost worthless country, the purchase was thought by many to be an extravagant waste of the public money. But besides the seal-fisheries, which alone have been worth many times the purchase price, Alaska has

[1] The table below shows that the entire area of the United States, exclusive of our island possessions, is now about three million six hundred thousand square miles, or nearly the size of all Europe.

	Square Miles
United States in 1783	827,844
Louisiana, 1803	1,171,931
Florida, 1819	59,268
Texas, 1845	376,133
Mexican Cession, 1848	545,783
Gadsden Purchase, 1853	45,535
Alaska, 1867	577,390
Total	3,603,884

quarries of beautiful white marble and valuable mines of coal, iron, and gold. Rich forests of pine and cedar grow along many of the streams, while salmon in the rivers and cod and halibut in the sea afford extensive fisheries. With its great wealth of natural resources Alaska has also a coast well supplied with good harbors, so that there is no doubt that the investment has proved to be of immense value.

GOLD RUSH, 1896, ALASKA.

Left, Klondike packers crossing Chilcoot Pass. Right, Cape Nome; sluicing (placer mining) for gold in the bed of a stream.

Within a few years of the purchase of Alaska, gold was discovered in the Yukon Valley. As early as 1873 prospectors were active there, but not until 1896 were the rich deposits of the Upper Yukon country revealed along Klondike Creek. The knowledge of them drew thousands of gold-seekers to the coveted land, just as the discovery of gold had drawn thousands to California nearly half a century before. They journeyed with all possible haste, undaunted either by rugged mountains, swift rivers, or the rigorous climate. Many died of hardships before reaching the land of their hopes, and many more were obliged to turn back. Only a few of those who reached the mines got the gold of which they had dreamed. Others, wearying of the hard conditions which they found in the new country, returned to the comforts and security of their homes.

The other mines of Alaska which held enormous deposits of coal, copper, and other minerals, could not be successfully worked until some practicable method of transportation was introduced

The Yukon River flows through two thousand miles of country before it reaches the sea, but as late as 1913, with the exception of a few short railroads owned by private companies, most of the inland transportation was by means of dog-sledges, pack-trains, and men who carried packs on their backs. The supreme need was railroads. The cost of building them, however, and the likelihood that for a long time there would be only small profits, held back private capitalists. Therefore, in 1914, Congress authorized the President to expend not more than $35,000,000 in the construction of not more than one thousand miles of railroads, and to operate them when completed. With the aid of ample railroad facilities our country will derive in the future unmeasured material wealth from Alaska.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Trace on your map the advance of Western settlement, and note the causes helping to bring about the marvellous expansion.
2. How did increasing population and immigration cause westward growth?
3. Discuss the reservation system and why it has failed. Imagine yourself an Indian chief and tell your objections to it.
4. Resolved, That an Indian state should have been established. Debate this question.
5. Why is there opposition to the coming of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the United States? What is your attitude on this question?
6. Explain in what ways the transcontinental railroads have been of value in the development of the West. Could certain parts have been settled without the railroads? Why? In this connection recall the pack-horse, the flatboat, the steamboat, the national road, and the Erie Canal.
7. How many states of the size of your own does Alaska equal in its area? In what ways is it adding to the material wealth of the United States?
8. What was the influence of improved farm machinery on the settlement of the great prairie states?
9. Read Turner's "The Frontier in American History" for a clear understanding of the influence of the West upon our national life.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, chaps. VII–IX; Andrews, *History of the United States*, II, chap. V; Fairbanks, *The Western United States;* Sparks, *National Development*, 3–19; Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 100–124; Paxson, *The Last Frontier;* Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 676–691; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 366–375; Roosevelt, *Stories of the Great West.*

FICTION: Jackson, *Ramona;* Stoddard, *Little Smoke.*

CHAPTER XVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BIG BUSINESS LEADS TO FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENTS AND BRINGS INDUSTRIAL TROUBLES (1873–1893)

Westward expansion, involving the extensive building of railroads, the taking up of vast stretches of farming and grazing lands, and the opening up of rich gold and silver mines created business enterprises that required the expenditure of untold millions of dollars. During all the years of development in agriculture and mining there was also a colossal growth in manufactures, which affected both home trade and foreign commerce and required a rapidly increasing use of capital. The country from 1865 to the end of the last century witnessed such an expansion in all forms of business and financial enterprises as had never been experienced before in the history of our country; greater, in fact, than had ever been known in the history of any country.

Rapid building of railroads is the main cause of financial panic of 1873.

The years immediately following the Civil War were marked by general prosperity, which was evidenced by the vast speculations in Western railroads. For five years railroad-building went on so rapidly that within that time the railroad mileage in the United States was extended by one-half.[1] The increase was mainly in the West, and exceeded the requirements of the scattered population. In the fever of speculation tracts of land in unsettled regions were bought up and their prospective value raised by extending railroads through them, but as the railroads were built so much more rapidly than the lands could be disposed of

[1] In 1861 only six hundred and fifty-one miles of railroad were built; in 1871, seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine miles were built. The Northern Pacific, after the Union Pacific, extending from Duluth to Puget Sound, was the most important of these roads. During the five years preceding the panic, about $1,700,000,000 were spent in railroad-building.

many who had invested could not wait for the rise and had to sell at a sacrifice. Some made fortunes, others lost them.

The outcome was the panic of 1873. As in 1857, the failure of a single great banking-house was the occasion that suddenly brought distress upon the country. All connected with bank business, firms and individuals alike, felt the shock and many fell in the financial crash. Want and suffering came into thousands of homes. It was six years before the country thoroughly recovered.

To relieve the financial distress the Treasury Department makes the paper dollar exchangeable for the gold dollar.

This panic was the more serious because it came at a time when the paper currency was of unstable and uncertain value. Nobody knew how much a paper dollar was worth or how much it was likely to be worth. Although this condition was unavoidable during the war, there was no excuse for it in time of peace.

However, less than a dozen years after the close of the Civil War, when the government began to pay the national debt rapidly, people came to have more and more confidence in the paper money which Congress had issued. The greenbacks, therefore, rose in value. In 1879 the secretary of the treasury announced that he would exchange gold for paper money presented at the treasury. This was known as the resumption of specie payments. It restored confidence, for when the people knew that a paper dollar was worth as much as a gold dollar, they accepted paper money as readily as they would gold.

Congress passes laws on use of silver as money (1873–1892).

In connection with the resumption of specie payments the amount and the kind of money in circulation must be considered. To regulate this supply is one of the duties of Congress.

By 1873 the silver dollar had practically passed out of circulation. This was because it had become worth more than the gold dollar. Little silver had been coined in the United States since 1834, and for more than twenty years the yield from newly discovered gold-mines had been so abundant that it was supposed, both here and abroad, that the supply of gold would be

sufficient to provide all the specie the world needed. Congress therefore passed a coinage act (1873) which declared that silver should no longer be a legal tender for debts. But many people had greater confidence in specie than in paper money and desired to have more gold and silver in circulation. Accordingly, in 1878, the Bland Silver Bill was passed, which made silver a legal tender for debts and directed that the mints should coin not less than two, nor more than four, million silver dollars a month.

In spite of extensive purchases of silver by the government there were urgent demands, by owners of silver-mines and by those who desired more money in circulation, for still larger purchases. Congress, therefore, passed the Sherman Act (1890), which provided that the secretary of the treasury should purchase not less than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion each month and pay for it by issuing treasury notes, that is, paper money, which were a legal tender for all debts, and redeemable in gold or silver coin at the discretion of the secretary of the treasury. The purchase of silver was therefore increased, but its coinage was no longer compulsory.

What caused the financial panic of 1893.

The issue of so many treasury notes on the basis of silver had important results, for the notes, which were redeemed in gold by the treasury, were presented in such large quantities that the usual gold reserve of $100,000,000 was seriously cut down. Many feared that the government might use up its reserve of gold and be forced to redeem its treasury notes in silver instead of in gold. As this fear spread, men began to lose confidence in business conditions and those who had invested in big enterprises, depending on borrowed money, found that they could no longer borrow. As a result there were business failures and distress everywhere. Great manufacturing establishments were closed or ran on shorter hours. Soon hundreds of thousands of working men were out of employment, their families suffering from want. This was the panic of 1893. Since President Cleveland believed that silver legislation was one of the principal causes of the panic, he summoned Congress to repeal the Sherman Act, which it did. In meeting this crisis the President showed both wisdom and courage.

The labor-unions grow rapidly and the American Federation of Labor has a large influence.

In such crises as the panic of 1893 none suffer more keenly than those dependent upon a daily wage. To make their position as individual units more secure, therefore, wage-earners for years have joined together in unions and demanded improved conditions. The expansion of industry through mining, manufacturing, and railroad-building brought together large masses of workmen, thus producing a condition favorable to the formation of labor-unions. Many local unions had existed long before the Civil War, and between 1850 and 1860 over twenty national unions of special industries were organized. But in 1869 an attempt was made to combine all the trades of the country into one giant organization called the Knights of Labor. Although this attempt was not entirely successful, the "Knights" numbered by 1884 more than a million members. They played a large part in many strikes and helped working men materially in bringing about better wage and better working conditions.

Broader in its sweep and more effective in its results was the American Federation of Labor, organized in 1881. Its membership consisted not of individual men but of unions, and hence the name federation. In 1920 the unions represented in the organization contained not far from two and a half million members paying dues. It has had a large influence upon working conditions, legislation, and the policies of political parties in the United States.

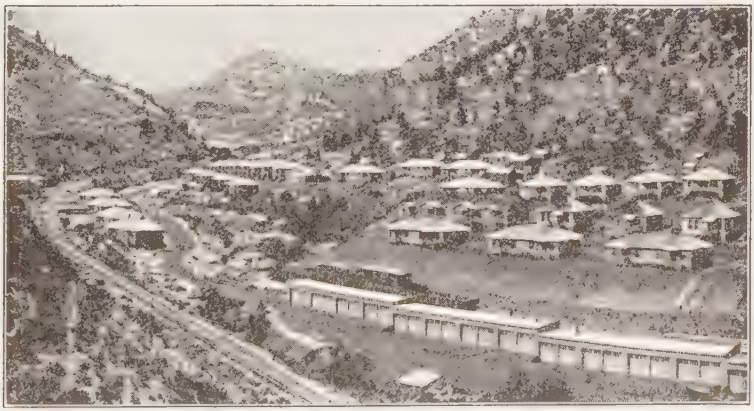
The labor-unions demand the "closed shop" and "collective bargaining."

As in the early days of labor-unions, the principal objects of the Federation have been to secure higher wages, shorter working days, and safer and more healthful working conditions. All labor-unions have desired that the employers should agree to the principle of the "closed shop"; that is, that no man should be hired unless he belonged to some local trade-union. On the other hand, many employers have insisted upon maintaining the "open shop"; that is, keeping the shop open to all workers, whether they are union men or not. The Federation has insisted upon the recognition of the unions, which means that in case of a dis-

pute the employers should agree to bargain with officers of the local union of the American Federation of Labor rather than with their employees individually. This is called "collective bargaining." The employers have favored the contention that in all labor troubles they should deal solely with the men in their own shops or plants.

The new factory laws have three leading purposes.

The factory laws now in force in many states show that more favorable working conditions have been brought about. These laws have three leading purposes: (1) To surround workers with more healthful conditions, such as better lighting and ventilation; (2) to protect them against accident by providing guards on dangerous machinery and in other ways; and (3) to safeguard women and children by imposing restrictions upon their employment, such as making night-work illegal, and also forbidding the employment of children under fourteen or sixteen years of age.



MODEL TOWN FOR EMPLOYEES BUILT BY COAL-MINING COMPANY AT STANDARDVILLE, UTAH.

AT RIGHT MAIN BUILDING OF HOME FOR CONVALESCENTS, BUILT BY THE UNION PRINTERS AT COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO.

The employers organize for their own protection and plan welfare work.

To meet the growing power of the labor-union, the employers also found it necessary to organize their forces. In 1893 they combined on a nation-wide scale by forming the National Association of Manufacturers, with the purpose of protecting members against the increasing demands of labor. In 1903 they took another step for their own protection by forming the Citizens' Industrial Association. This was organized in the same way as the American Federation of Labor; that is, it was made up of smaller associations scattered throughout the United States.

Supplementing the laws in protection of labor many employers have started improvements in a private way. These have included classes for instruction during working hours, free medical attendance, reading-rooms, libraries, dining-rooms, and so on. The purpose of these employers has been to make life more agreeable in the mills and shops where men and women spend many hours of the working day. The endeavor to promote the social welfare of the workers results in benefit both to employed and employer, because it means better health, better work, and better general feeling.

Reduced wages cause railroad strikes (1877).

During the years of financial distress following the panic of 1873 the earnings of the railroads were much reduced, and in the Middle and Western states some of them lowered the wages of their men. Brakemen and other trainmen on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and on the Pennsylvania Railroad refused to work. Men on other roads followed their example. There were riots at Baltimore and Pittsburgh, and mobs in Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities. In Pittsburgh a mob of 20,000 men had control of the city for two days, and 100 lives were lost. The situation was so critical that the governor of Pennsylvania hastened to the scene and took command of the state troops there, numbering about 4,000. Six hundred United States regular soldiers aided them in putting a stop to violence, but disorder continued for about two weeks. One hundred thousand men took part in the strike, and ten million dollars' worth of property was destroyed.

The Pullman Car Company reduces wages and brings about an extensive railroad strike (1894).

The financial depression of 1893 caused such a decrease in travel that the demand for sleeping-cars to be furnished to numerous railroads by the Pullman Car Company, located at Pullman, Illinois, was greatly reduced. Since its income was greatly lessened, the Pullman Company decided upon a reduction of wages. On receiving notice of this reduction, the 3,000 workmen went out on strike. As a result the company shut down its works.

The outcome was a sympathetic strike which soon spread to twenty-two railroads running out of Chicago. Local business was stopped, and travel became hazardous. The large supplies of meat and provisions going out from the city to all parts of the country were cut off, and a meat famine was threatened. Trade and industry everywhere were thrown into confusion and the movement of the United States mail was impeded. To aid the local authorities in quelling the disorder, 2,000 United States troops were sent to join the 4,000 state militia already called out. The worst of the strike was over in three weeks, but the money losses to working men, railroads, and the United States Government were not less than $7,000,000.

The coal strike of 1902 is settled by arbitration.

Another bitter struggle between capital and labor threatened wide-spread disaster. This was the great coal strike of 1902. Two years before this time the hard-coal miners in Pennsylvania had struck for an increase in wages. But public opinion had forced the miners and mine-owners to settle their dispute by a compromise.

Although the miners went back to work, they were not satisfied with the results of the settlement. Accordingly, about the middle of May, 1902, 140,000 of them again stopped work. They demanded more pay, fewer working hours per day, and an agreement on the part of the mine-owners to make all bargains as to conditions of labor with the officers of the union rather than with each workman alone. This, you will recall, was according to the principles of the Federation of Labor. Each side was unyielding. The contest dragged along all

ATTEMPT TO FIRE RAILROAD ROUNDHOUSE AT PITTSBURGH, JULY 22, 1877.
Mob method, in contrast to conference on page 409.
Drawn by W. R. Leigh from photographs.

through the summer months and into the autumn, when it began to look as though both households and industries would suffer for lack of coal during the approaching winter. Finally President Roosevelt appointed a commission of prominent men, who investigated the whole question, visiting the mines and giving a careful hearing to arguments of the miners and of the mine-owners alike. When the commission made its report, both parties agreed to abide by its decision.

The four Brotherhoods threaten to strike (1916). Desirable as it was for both sides and for the public welfare that employers and employees should respect each other's rights and needs and work together in harmony, hundreds of strikes occurred every year. In the twenty-five years between the time of the first great strike in 1877 and the coal strike of 1902 there were more than 30,000 of these destructive contests between employers and wage-workers.

Another strike, which would have caused incalculable loss, was narrowly averted in 1916. The trouble was between the railway managers and the leading railway unions, composing the four Brotherhoods. They represented the demands of 400,000 railway employees. When the railway managers rejected their demand, the Brotherhoods threatened to strike, and refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. After holding conference with each of the contesting parties, President Wilson suggested a compromise which was not acceptable to either side, and the four Brotherhoods ordered a strike for Labor day. Then President Wilson, knowing that a general "tie-up" of the railroads through-

out the country would bring great suffering and even disaster, urged Congress to pass a law which would avert the strike. This was accomplished by the passage of the Adamson Law.

The Socialists would do away with private capital.

These numerous strikes, which caused great economic loss and much industrial confusion, were proof of a wide-spread social unrest, which seemed to increase rather than diminish. According to the belief of some, the

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UNITED STATES LABOR BOARD IN THE COLISEUM, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 26, 1921.

Hearing representatives of the unions and railroads, resulting in the recall of the strike order scheduled to paralyze the nation's railroads.

remedy for all these industrial evils is Socialism. The Socialists would do away with private capital by putting into the hands of the government the ownership of all the land. This would, of course, include all natural resources such as forests, water, soil, fuel, minerals, and also either the direct operation or the effective control of the industries arising therefrom. The result would be government monopolies in water-powers, mining, lumbering, agriculture, railroads, telegraphs, and other related industries. Since there would be much disagreeable and irksome labor, it would be assigned by the state. The state would also apportion the proceeds of all work so that every member of society would have his fair share. For some years those who

would enforce these principles of Socialism have voted as a political party in the presidential elections. In 1912 the Socialist nominee for President received nearly 900,000 votes; in 1916 about 585,000; and in 1920 about 915,000.

The Joint High Commission favors Hayes for President (1877).

During the period covered by this discussion of industry and finance, there were some events and measures of national importance of which we should take notice. In the presidential election of the centennial year (1876) there were disputes about the election returns from South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana.[1] Hayes, the Republican candidate, needed all the electoral votes from these states to secure his election, while Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate, needed but a single vote from any one of these states. Florida and Louisiana had given Democratic majorities, but the "returning boards," who received the election returns as they came in from various parts of the states, were Republican, and they threw out enough votes, on the ground of intimidation, to leave a Republican majority. But this did not settle it, for the first returns were also filed.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

The excitement increased as the time drew near for the new President to be inaugurated. The Senate being Republican and the House Democratic, they could not unite upon any plan of seating either of the rival candidates. Finally a bill passed both houses providing that a Joint High Commission should be appointed whose decision should be final. The commission included five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court. The fifth justice was appointed by the other four named in the bill. Before the fifth justice was appointed, seven of the commission were Republicans and seven were Democrats. It was expected that the fifth justice would not be influenced by party considerations, but in every case he

[1] There was some dispute about the election in Oregon also.

voted as a Republican, thus giving the Republicans a majority of one on the commission.

On March 2, just two days before the time set by the Constitution for inauguration, the decision in favor of Hayes was published. Opinions were still divided as to the correctness of the returns, but whichever candidate had been elected, the settlement of the question was accepted as final. The people throughout the land, Democrats and Republicans alike, had shown remarkable forbearance and self-control during all the months of the trying situation.[1]

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

Civil service reform makes a rapid growth, taking the place of the "spoils system."

A movement which connected itself immediately with the office of the presidency was that of civil service reform. Bills effecting it were passed following the assassination of President Garfield[2] in 1881. Since the assassin of the President had been a disappointed office-seeker, the tragedy brought to the minds of the people the need of reform in our civil service. President

[1] To provide for possible contested elections in the future the Electoral Count Bill was passed in 1887. This measure threw the responsibility of presidential elections upon the states, and provided that electoral certificates sent to the national Capitol by the various states should be opened by the President of the Senate in the presence of both houses, and that four tellers, two from each house, should read aloud and make records of the votes.

[2] James A. Garfield, twentieth President of the United States, was born at Orange, Ohio, in 1831, and died, September 19, 1881, from a wound inflicted by a disappointed office-seeker. In early childhood Garfield's path was beset with difficulties. He was but two years of age when his father died, and his home, in a lonely log cabin of the backwoods, was one of poverty and hardship. But the boy cheerfully helped his mother in supporting the family. After being graduated from Williams College, he was for a time a college professor, and afterward studied law. Owing to his gallantry and daring on the battle-field in the Civil War, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. His term of service in Congress (1863-1880) was so successful that he was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1880. Before taking his seat, however, he was nominated by the Republicans for the presidency. He was the second President who was assassinated and the fourth who died in office.

Jackson had adopted the "spoils system" in order to reward his political friends. Appointments were not made because of experience and fitness for the work, but were distributed as rewards for political service.

In 1883 an act was passed by Congress authorizing President Arthur[1] to appoint civil service examiners, who should test by fair examinations, without regard to party, the qualifications of applicants for office. From the list of those passing the civil service examinations, appointments and promotions were to be made. In accordance with this act, during the next twenty years more than 100,000 office-holders were put under civil service rules. Almost every President since Arthur has added to the number of government officials who have to be examined before receiving an appointment. President Cleveland[2] made special efforts to reform the civil service. Those who are appointed under these rules hold their positions during satisfactory service, regardless of politics. Through this method the "spoils system" has largely disappeared. Experience, training, and ability now are demanded of a majority

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

[1] Chester A. Arthur, twenty-first President of the United States (1881–1885), was born in Fairfield, Vermont, in 1830, and died in 1886. After being graduated from Union College, he studied law and became a successful lawyer. In 1871 President Grant appointed him collector of the port of New York. Having been elected Vice-President by the Republicans in 1880, he succeeded to the presidency on the death of Garfield. He was the fourth Vice-President who thus became executive head of the nation.

[2] Grover Cleveland, twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States (1885–1889 and 1893–1897), was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837, and died in 1908. In his early childhood the family removed to New York State. He became a lawyer by profession, and after filling minor public positions, was elected mayor of the city of Buffalo. His success as mayor led to his nomination by the Democrats, in 1882, for governor of the State of New York, to which office he was elected by an overwhelming majority. Owing to his popularity in New York, the Democrats nominated him for the presidency in 1884. James G. Blaine was the Republican candidate in what proved to be an exciting campaign. At the close of his first term Cleveland was defeated by Benjamin Harrison, but in 1892 he in turn defeated President Harrison and became President for a second term.

of the office-holders in our national government, as well as in many of our large cities.

Ballot-reform laws are passed with the object of diminishing vote buying (1888–1892).

In line with civil service reform there was also another which involved our methods of voting at state and national elections. Votes were so easily bought and sold that the results of the election in some cases depended upon the amount of money controlled by the political parties. This corruption was a serious menace to our institutions, and disapproval expressed itself in an emphatic way. Beginning in 1888, state after state passed ballot-reform laws, the purpose of which was to stop vote buying and to provide opportunity to cast a secret ballot. The Australian ballot system had come into favorable notice and was the one generally adopted. By its provisions every voter could shut himself in a booth and there cast his ballot, so that no one could interfere with his choice or know how he voted. By 1892 thirty-seven of the states had passed such ballot-reform laws.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

INTERIOR OF A POLLING-PLACE, SHOWING REGISTRY CLERKS, WATCHERS, VOTERS, BOOTHS, AND BALLOT-BOXES.

The tariff becomes the issue between the great political parties.

A question of internal policy which has always aroused vigorous debate in this country is the tariff. During the Civil War, duties on foreign goods were increased to provide revenue to meet the expenses of maintaining the army and navy. After the war, no important change was made for about twenty-five years. During Cleveland's first administration (1885–1889) it was found that the internal revenue on tobacco and spirituous liquors and the duties on foreign goods piled up $100,000,000 every year in the national treasury, after all the expenses of the government were paid. President Cleveland therefore recommended such a reduction in the tariff as would make the revenue and the expenses more nearly equal. The Mills Bill, representing the policy of the President, was passed in the House but failed in the Senate.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

In the election of the next President and Congress, in 1888, the tariff was the main issue. The Democrats demanded a tariff for revenue only, and the Republicans a high tariff for the protection of American manufacturers. The Republicans were successful not only in electing Benjamin Harrison as President,[1] but in getting control of both houses of Congress. The outcome was the passage of the McKinley Bill in the interests of a high tariff to protect and stimulate American manufactures.

In the presidential election of 1892 the tariff plank was again the principal issue. As in 1888, the Republican policy was a high

[1] Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President of the United States (1889–1893), was born in North Bend, Ohio, in 1833, and died in 1901. After being graduated from Miami University, he studied law in Cincinnati, removed two years later to Indianapolis, and soon won much success in his chosen profession. In 1862 he entered the Union army as a lieutenant, and a little later, having organized a company of an Indiana regiment, received the commission of colonel of the regiment. He remained in the army throughout the war and rose to the rank of brigadier-general. He became a United States senator in 1881 and ably represented the State of Indiana. He was elected President in 1888.

protective tariff, while the Democratic policy was a tariff for revenue only. The Democrats were successful, electing Cleveland President for a second time, and an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives. When the new administration and the new Congress came into office they set about revising the tariff by passing the Wilson Bill, which differed from the McKinley Bill mainly in the degree of protection it provided.[1] In other words, the Wilson Bill stood for a moderately low protective tariff, the McKinley Bill for a high protective tariff.

The problems of the campaign of 1896 were the tariff and the coinage of silver.

The passage of the Wilson Bill did not end the struggle over the tariff. The two leading political questions to be answered by the people in the campaign of 1896 were: (1) "Shall we have free and unlimited coinage of silver, at the rate of 16 to 1, or shall we maintain a gold standard?" and (2) "Shall we have a protective tariff, or a tariff for revenue only?"

When the Republicans met in their national convention they declared in their platform that they were in favor of a protective tariff and of maintaining a gold standard, and they nominated William McKinley for President. The Democratic nominating convention declared itself in favor of a tariff for revenue only and of a free and unlimited coinage of silver, and nominated William Jennings Bryan for President.

Some Democrats, believing in a gold standard, would not join the silver movement, and nominated their own candidate, John M. Palmer, for President; while the National Silver party supported Bryan. The Populists, also, or those who advocated not only a free and unlimited coinage of silver but government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, supported him, although they nominated their own candidate for Vice-President.

After an earnest and serious campaign McKinley was elected, and was inaugurated President, March 4, 1897. He at once called a special session of Congress to revise the tariff. This resulted in the passage of the Dingley bill (July 24, 1897).

[1] As an amendment to the Wilson Bill, an income tax of 2 per cent on all incomes of more than $4,000 a year was proposed, but the Supreme Court decided by a vote of 5 to 4 that such a national tax was unconstitutional.

which raised the duties on foreign goods in accordance with the promises made by the Republicans in the presidential campaign.

Congress passes a highly protective tariff law (1909).

As many people were dissatisfied with the high duties on imported goods, a special session of Congress was called in 1909 for a revision of the tariff. The result was the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. Although its rates

AIRPLANE PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

were lower on some articles than in the Dingley tariff act, it was too highly protective for those who desired a substantial reduction of duties.

The Sixteenth Amendment (1913) establishes an income tax.

There followed an increasing demand for more reduction in duties. In fact, the tariff continued to be the leading issue in national politics. Shortly after President Wilson entered into office, therefore, he called a special session of Congress to consider the tariff question. Following a notable contest, a law was passed in October, 1913, which largely reduced the duties on imported goods. This revision downward was certain to bring about a large decrease in customs receipts, and it became necessary to provide revenue

in some other way. Accordingly, a section was inserted in the tariff revision law levying an income tax. This had been made possible by the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. This is a period of wonderful material growth and industrial achievement, including railroad-building and agricultural development. Many of the difficulties involved were due to the inadequate, inelastic financial system of that time. Why should a panic occur in 1873? Compare the causes of this panic with those of the panic of 1837.
2. Discuss the changes in industry and give reasons for growth of labor-unions and employers' associations. Only a small number of important strikes are discussed in this book. State the causes and the results of each one. Who else is seriously concerned in a strike or a lockout besides the laborers and employers? Under what conditions is the public justified in taking a hand in the settlement of strikes?
3. Explain the difficulty about the presidential election of 1876 and how it was settled. How are such contests settled in some countries? Observe that Rutherford B. Hayes was President in 1877–1881. Name in order all the Presidents up to this time.
4. Review Jackson's adoption of the "spoils system" and the principle of rotation in office. In what ways is civil service reform better for the people as a whole than the "spoils system"?
5. Observe that James A. Garfield was inaugurated as a Republican President in 1881, and that after his death Chester A. Arthur became President, continuing in office in 1881–1885. For the next four years Grover Cleveland, elected by the Democrats, was President. In 1893–1897 Cleveland was again President, and gave place to William McKinley, who was inaugurated March 4, 1897.
6. Review the difficulties over the tariff in South Carolina in Jackson's administration. How have conditions changed in the South? Do you favor a high or a low tariff? Give reasons for your answer.
7. For an illuminating discussion of the marked changes that have taken place in the industrial world read "The Changing Order" in Haworth's "The United States in Our Own Times."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 146–163; Paxson, *New Nation;* Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, 266–284; Dewey, *National Problems;* Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 48–61; Jenks, *The Trust Problem;* Rhodes, *History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley*, 394–424; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, 324–351; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 731–744.

FICTION: White, *A Certain Rich Man;* Churchill, *Coniston;* Norris, *The Octopus.*

CHAPTER XVII

OUR COUNTRY EXPANDS ITS POSSESSIONS AND ASSUMES NEW RESPONSIBILITIES IN WORLD AFFAIRS (1889–1902)

During the period we are now to consider, there developed in our country a new union, with new problems at home and new relations with the other countries of the world. The bitterness

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REUNION OF CONFEDERATE AND UNION VETERANS AT THE GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD IN 1913.

On the right the blue and gray united

of sectional feeling had almost disappeared, and the spirit belonging to an age of science, invention, and steam dominated the people. In the expansion of our national industries men lost sight of their differences, and thousands from both the North and the South responded to the call of the opportunities afforded by the West. Confederate leaders like Longstreet and Mosby accepted high posts of honor and responsibility under Republican administrations. In the Spanish-American War,

when troops from all sections of the country were brigaded together, former Confederates like "fighting Joe" Wheeler and Fitzhugh Lee rendered conspicuous services as commanding generals. As an indication that good-will and common understanding between the North and the South at last prevailed, a combined Grand Army of the Republic and Confederate Veteran Encampment was arranged at Gettysburg in 1913.

We become a powerful advocate of democratic ideals.

Confident of strength and conscious of success as a united republic, the United States has come to be, in the present century, not only the powerful advocate of democratic ideals but a defender of the rights of small nations. The building of the Panama Canal and the acquirement of oceanic possessions have brought to us a larger area of administration. A sphere of influence, in effect a friendly protectorate in the Caribbean Sea, is an example. Moreover, our size and position as the oldest of American republics has given us a place of responsibility as spokesman in all affairs relating to the western hemisphere.

A. Victories for Arbitration

The "Alabama Claims" settled by arbitration.

During the Civil War powerful cruisers had been built in British dockyards and sold to the Confederate Government to be used in injuring our commerce. While the cruisers were building, our minister in London requested the British Government to prevent them from going to sea, but Great Britain disclaimed responsibility and allowed them to sail on their missions of destruction. After the war, the American Government demanded that Great Britain should pay the damages done by those cruisers. As the first of these claims for redress grew out of acts committed by the *Alabama*, the claims growing out of the acts of all the vessels became known as the "Alabama Claims."

In 1871 it was agreed by a treaty between the two countries to submit the settlement to five arbitrators. The United States chose one of these, England one, and Italy, Brazil, and Switzer-

land each chose one. The arbitrators decided that England should pay the United States $15,500,000, and she made a prompt payment of that amount. This settlement, known as the Treaty of Washington, was a notable triumph of the principle of the good-will and friendly understanding that should prevail between nations.

The Pan-American Congress (1889–1890) recommends arbitration.

As a family should live harmoniously within itself and at peace with its neighbors, so should a nation. The ever-increasing wealth of the United States and her foreign commerce brought the country into closer relations with other nations. Desiring to establish more friendly feelings, especially with the leading independent countries of North and South America, our government invited them to send representatives to a congress to meet at Washington.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

The invitation was accepted, and the Pan-American Congress was held in the autumn of 1889. Seventeen countries were represented by sixty-six delegates. Questions concerning closer business relations and better means of communication between the various countries were discussed. But by far the most important work of the Pan-American Congress was its recommendation that the republics of North, Central, and South America should settle by arbitration all disputes and difficulties that might arise among them.

Our government has trouble with Italy and with Chile.

The advantages of a system of arbitration with other countries was made suddenly and painfully evident. In 1890, on the failure of a jury in New Orleans to convict some Italians on trial for assassinating the New Orleans chief of police, a party of lynchers, indignant at this failure of justice, broke into the jail and put to death eleven Italian prisoners. As three of these men were Italian citizens, a situation arose with Italy; but through our able secretary of

state, James G. Blaine, a settlement was reached when we agreed to pay $25,000 to the families of the murdered men.

Equally unexpected and unwelcome was an incident with Chile. In 1891, in the streets of Valparaiso, a mob attacked[1] some sailors from the American war-ship *Baltimore*, killing two and wounding eighteen others. Chile disavowed the act and agreed to pay damages to our government.

The Bering Sea trouble is settled by arbitration.

Another international question that had long remained without settlement threatened for a time our friendly relations with Great Britain. After the purchase of Alaska (1867) the United States claimed entire control of the seal-fisheries in Bering Sea. England insisted that the jurisdiction of our government could not extend beyond three miles from the shore, and she therefore encouraged Canadian sailors in seal-catching outside the three-mile limit. So great had become the destruction of seals that their extermination seemed only a question of a few years. In 1886, when our cruisers seized Canadian vessels and confiscated all their cargoes of seal-furs, the dispute between the United States and England became serious.

After a vigorous diplomatic correspondence the matter was referred to a tribunal which sat at Paris and decided (1893) that the United States had no right to control the seal-fisheries beyond the three-mile limit. However, it made careful provision for the protection of the seals, and since the purpose of the United States was largely to prevent their destruction, the decision was satisfactory. This settlement, like that of the Alabama Claims (1871), was a triumph for arbitration.

The Anglo-Venezuelan difficulty causes a grave controversy with England.

A situation involving far greater danger of misunderstanding with Great Britain was brought about through a controversy between that country and Venezuela regarding the boundary-line which separated Venezuela from British Guiana. Our government had

[1] A revolution having broken out in Chile, our minister to Chile took sides with the Chilean president. Also, a Chilean cruiser had been seized in a port of California because she was thought to be on the point of sailing with a supply of arms for the revolutionists. Hence the anger of the Chilean mob.

been trying for years to induce England to submit the whole question to arbitration. By 1895 the dispute had become grave, and President Cleveland again made overtures rather insistently for arbitration. The English Government declared, however, that England and Venezuela could settle their own disputes, without aid or interference from the United States. Our government answered that if, in this controversy, England insisted upon extending her claims to territory not shown to be rightfully hers, she was violating the Monroe Doctrine. In the high-spirited diplomatic correspondence between the two governments, our secretary of state, Richard Olney, argued the American side with great vigor and ability. There was, for a short time, talk of war; but this feeling quickly subsided, and England and Venezuela agreed to settle their boundary dispute by arbitration. A most fortunate outcome of the Anglo-Venezuelan dispute was a growing feeling on the part of a large number of people in both the United States and England in favor of the settlement of all difficulties between the two countries by arbitration.

RICHARD OLNEY.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Discuss the Treaty of Washington in settlement of the Alabama Claims as a great victory for civilization. How had almost all momentous issues between nations been settled before that time?
2. Of what advantage was the Pan-American Congress to us and to the Latin-American states? Why should our relations with these states be very close?
3. Review the Monroe Doctrine and Maximilian in Mexico, and then explain the trouble we had with England over the Venezuela boundary dispute. How was serious trouble again averted?
4. For President Cleveland's views on the Anglo Venezuelan dispute read his "Presidential Problems."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, 235–244; Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 63–70; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 412–436; Powers, *America Among the Nations;* Fish, *The Development of American Nationality;* Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 669–674; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, 215–238.

B. The Spanish-American War

Before the controversy with England over the Anglo-Venezuelan situation was adjusted, the attention of the whole country was called to a revolution in Cuba against Spanish rule. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain still held many American colonies, mostly in South America, but because of her harsh methods of government she had lost them all, including Mexico, before the century closed. Only Cuba and Porto Rico remained under her control.

The Cubans rebel against Spain (1895).

The Cubans had tried repeatedly to throw off the yoke of Spain, but always in vain. In February, 1895, they organized in eastern Cuba an insurrection that within a year spread to the western end of the island. In alarm the Spanish Government decided upon severe measures, and appointed General Weyler as governor-general. He drove the country people into towns and cities, burned their dwellings, and destroyed everything that might furnish support to the fighting Cubans. By this brutal policy General Weyler hoped to starve the people into submission. He failed, and General Blanco, who succeeded him, tried by a milder policy to win the island back to Spain. But the Cubans' cry was "Independence or death!" At the end of three years, with an army of more than 200,000, Spain had made little headway in putting down the insurrection.

The American people are aroused by the destruction of the battleship "Maine" in Havana harbor.

From the beginning of the outbreak the American people were in sympathy with the Cubans and heartily wished them success in their struggle for freedom. Although for a considerable period our government remained neutral, as the fighting continued many Americans went to the island and took up arms for the Cuban cause. At last, the inhuman methods of conducting the war aroused great indignation within the United States, and the people were calling for action. The American battleship *Maine* was sent to Havana to protect American interests. Spain resented our attitude. During the

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

strain between the two countries the *Maine* was blown up and 266 of her sailors were killed. Intense excitement swept over the country. President McKinley[1] at once appointed a naval court of inquiry, which, after four weeks of investigation, reported that the *Maine* had been blown up by the explosion of a submarine mine. The American people, holding Spanish officials responsible for the destruction of the *Maine*, insisted that Spain should end the war. President McKinley did all he could by diplomacy to bring about a settlement, but without success.

Congress declares war with Spain (April, 1898).

In the meantime affairs in Cuba were growing worse every day. The United States for many reasons was deeply disturbed. One of these was the fact that Americans owned property in Cuba to the value of nearly

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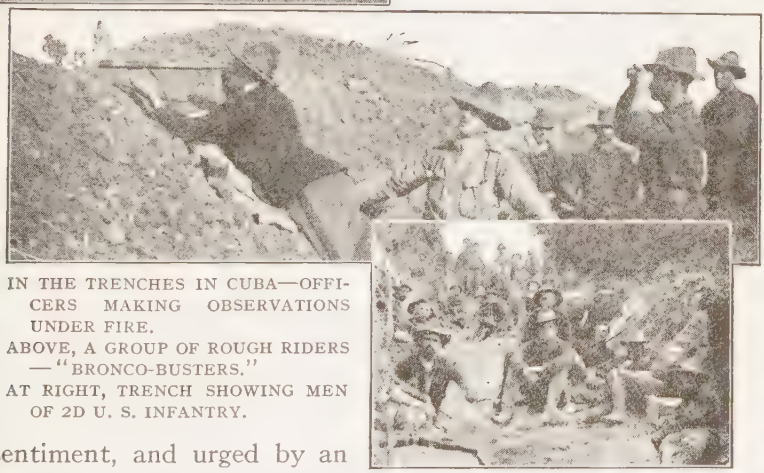
THE "MAINE" ENTERING THE HARBOR OF HAVANA—THE WRECK OF THE "MAINE" AS IT WAS DURING THE INVESTIGATION.

[1] William McKinley, twenty-fifth President of the United States (1897–1901), was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, in 1844, and died in 1901. When the Civil War began he was a teacher in a country school. Although only seventeen years old, he enlisted as a private in the 23d Ohio Regiment, which was commanded by Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes. Young McKinley fought so gallantly that he was advanced to the grade of major. After the war was over, he studied law and began the successful practice of it in Canton, Ohio. In 1877 he entered Congress as a Republican representative from Ohio, and served almost continuously until 1891. During his last term as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means he became the author of the McKinley Bill. In 1891, and again in 1893, the Republicans elected him governor of Ohio, and he gave evidence of rare tact and executive ability.

$50,000,000, and American trade footing up to $100,000,000 a year had been destroyed. Many, therefore, secretly hoped that Cuba might be annexed to the United States, but in general people were interested in behalf of Cuba solely because she had been so unjustly treated by Spain.

President McKinley, yielding to the pressure of public sentiment, and urged by an impatient Congress to decisive action, declared in his message to Congress: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop."



IN THE TRENCHES IN CUBA—OFFICERS MAKING OBSERVATIONS UNDER FIRE.
ABOVE, A GROUP OF ROUGH RIDERS —"BRONCO-BUSTERS."
AT RIGHT, TRENCH SHOWING MEN OF 2D U. S. INFANTRY.

Congress responded by passing a joint resolution to the following effect: (1) The Cubans are free and independent; (2) Spain must give up all authority in Cuba and withdraw her troops; (3) the United States will exercise control over Cuba long enough to restore peace and good order, and will then leave the island under the control of the Cubans. A little later (April 25) Congress declared that war had existed since April 21, and also voted that the regular army should be increased to

62,000. Soon the President called for 200,000 volunteers from the various states and territories.

Dewey brilliantly vanquishes the Spanish fleet at Manila.

Commodore George Dewey, commander of the American fleet in Asiatic waters, was ordered to sail from Hongkong for the Philippine Islands, then owned by Spain, and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet stationed there. He hastened to Manila, where the war-vessels lay under the protection of strong shore batteries. Owing to the skilful seamanship of the Americans and the rapid and accurate firing of their guns the battle was short and decisive. The entire Spanish fleet, consisting of ten war-vessels, was destroyed, while not one American vessel received serious injury. When Admiral Dewey[1] was reinforced by 15,000 American soldiers, the army and the fleet united in capturing Manila.

GEORGE DEWEY.

Cervera's fleet arrives at Santiago.

Until the Spanish fleet at Manila had been destroyed, an attack upon our Pacific coast was feared. And there was still graver fear that an attack might be made upon Atlantic seaports by a Spanish fleet under Admiral Pascual Cervera. At the outbreak of the war this fleet had been at the Cape Verde Islands, whence it steamed toward Cuban waters. An American fleet, under Admiral William T. Sampson, was blockading the northern coast of Cuba, while another, under the command of Commodore Winfield S. Schley, was sent from Hampton Roads to the waters south of Cuba. Cervera's fleet arrived at Santiago without being observed, but before long it was discovered by Commodore Schley and blockaded in the harbor.

The surrender at Santiago and the destruction of Cervera's fleet.

A land campaign in Cuba was quickly organized, and an army of 15,000 men, under General Shafter, was soon on its way to unite with

[1] On the news of the victory, the President appointed Dewey an acting admiral.

Admiral Sampson's squadron for the capture of Santiago and Cervera's fleet. The troops landed to the east of Santiago and advanced toward the city. Although the Spaniards resisted stoutly, the Americans, by vigorous attacks, were able to capture the two strongholds protecting the city, whose surrender was then inevitable. It was here, in front of Santiago, that the Rough Riders under Colonel Theodore Roosevelt won their fame.

THE WEST INDIES—CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

The surrender of Santiago would make sure the capture of Cervera, if he remained in the harbor. On the morning of July 3, therefore, in a desperate attempt to escape, he dashed out. The Americans, by superior gunnery, foiled his attempt and won another sea victory as brilliant as that of Admiral Dewey at Manila. The entire Spanish fleet of six war-vessels was destroyed, and not one of our ships was seriously harmed. About two weeks afterward Santiago and the eastern end of Cuba, with 22,000 Spanish soldiers, surrendered.

Spain gives up Cuba and cedes to us Guam, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

A large American force under General Nelson A. Miles was then sent to Porto Rico, also a Spanish possession, and was rapidly getting control of the island when Spain expressed a desire for peace. President

McKinley, therefore, appointed a special commission to arrange a treaty. The terms were as follows: (1) Spain gave up Cuba and ceded to the United States Porto Rico and the island of Guam in the Ladrones. (2) She also ceded the Philippines to the United States, our government agreeing to pay her $20,000,000.

The Philippines present a new problem.

Possession of the Philippines presented a new problem. Some people opposed the annexation to the United States of territory in tropical regions and thousands of miles from American shores. They held that our country should not assume the difficult task of governing a people of different race, who were only partly civilized and knew nothing of American ideals of government. Others declared that annexation would help us secure trade in China and in other parts of the Far East. They added that after we had driven Spain out of the islands, we should not leave the natives without protection and guidance, because they were not ready to govern themselves and would be helpless if left alone. "Moreover," as these people reasoned, "if we withdraw from the Philippines, other powers seeking new territory will be likely to seize the islands." There was prolonged discussion in the Senate before the necessary two-thirds vote could be secured. Finally on February 6, 1899, the treaty annexing the Philippines was ratified and became effective.

The war results in welding more closely together the sections of the United States and in increasing respect for our country in Europe.

There were other important results of the war. It had served to bring all parts of the country more closely into sympathy by uniting the various sections—North, South, East, and West—in a common purpose. It gave the United States a position of greater influence among the nations. Europe was surprised at the ease with which we won the victory. When the brief struggle ended, European statesmen, whose sympathy had been on the side of Spain, had increased respect for our nation, and were impressed with the fact that we were now playing a large part in the affairs of the world.

THE WORLD
showing
UNITED STATES
AND ITS POSSESSIONS

North Cape
BRITISH ISLES
EUROPE
ASIA
Caspian Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
Boston
New York
Baltimore
Washington
PORTO RICO
VIRGIN IS.
SOUTH AMERICA
AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
MADAGASCAR
C. of Good Hope
Cape Horn
L.L. POATES CO., N.Y.
Longitude
Greenwich
East

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Was the United States justified in going to war with Spain at this time? Was it in harmony with our principle of government based on human rights and the consent of the governed? Consider our treatment of Cuba and the Philippines on this basis. Give reasons for your answer.
2. It is important for you to understand just what were the results of the war. What is meant by saying that the United States was now a world-power with world responsibilities?
3. What would some nations naturally say regarding our Monroe Doctrine on our taking control of the Philippines? Was it an obligation we could not avoid?
4. In what years was McKinley President? Mention in order all the Presidents that preceded him, and mention an important event in the administration of each.
5. Be sure to read for discussion Elbert Hubbard's "Message to Garcia." It is a literary classic, inspired by a heroic exploit in carrying a message.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, 352–401; Paxson, *The New Nation;* Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 232–256; Fish, *The Development of the American Nation;* Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, 121–133; Latané, *America as a World Power*, 29–44; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 782–806; Roosevelt, *Autobiography*.

C. New Possessions Bring New Obligations

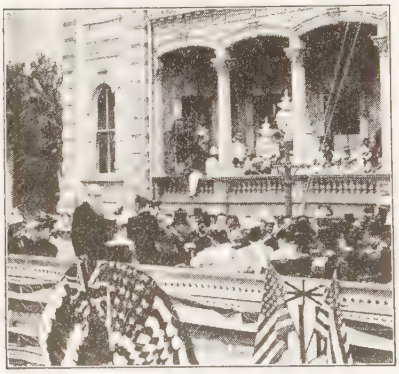
By acquiring possession of the Philippine Islands, we gained an important naval base not far from Asia, which was of great value to our rapidly growing trade with China, Japan, and other countries of the Orient.

Other islands in the Pacific are brought under American control.

The prestige won in the war with Spain led to another extension of influence. In 1893 a revolution had broken out in the Hawaiian Islands, which are about half-way between California and the coast of Asia. The native queen was deposed and, under the leadership of some Americans, a republic was organized. It was at once recognized by President Harrison. An attempt was then made to secure annexation to the United States, but President Cleveland delayed action by sending a special commissioner to Hawaii to investigate conditions. In McKinley's administration, upon request of the Hawaiians, Congress voted

to annex these islands and they became (1898) a territory of the United States.

Far to the southwest of the Hawaiian Islands, a little more than half the distance between them and Australia, lie the Samoan Islands. In 1889 the United States had joined with Great Britain and Germany in establishing a protectorate over them. As the plan did not work well, ten years later (1899) it was given up, England withdrawing altogether and leaving the islands under the control of the United States and Germany. Our country at that time became the sole owner of the island of Tutuila, with its harbor of Pago Pago. With coaling and telegraph stations and naval bases at Hawaii, Samoa, Guam, and the Philippines, the United States was in much stronger position to protect the Philippines and also her own rapidly growing trade in the Pacific.



THE SYMBOLIC TRANSFER OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS AT HONOLULU, AUGUST 12, 1898.

Dispute over the boundary-line between Alaska and Canada is settled (1903).

Another incident bearing upon our interests in the Pacific Ocean was the settlement of the long-standing dispute over the boundary-line between Alaska and Canada (1903). Each nation appointed three men on a commission, one of those who represented Great Britain being the chief justice of England. As he was convinced of the justice of the American claims, the award was made in favor of the United States. Although some Canadians believed the award to be unfair, the Canadians as a whole were ready to abide by the decision.

The Philippines come under American control.

While the treaty of peace at the end of the Spanish-American War was still under discussion, some of the Filipinos, led by a native chief, Aguinaldo, rebelled against the authority of the United States. Before the war began the

natives had tried to drive Spain out of the islands, and at first on the arrival of the Americans they were friendly. When, however, they learned that they were not to receive their independence, but only to change old masters for new ones, they determined to strike again for freedom. They made a desperate

THREE HUNDRED SCHOOLBOYS IN A PARADE, JULY 4, 1902, AT VIGAN, ILOCOS, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

struggle, but after prolonged guerilla fighting which lasted for nearly three years they were subdued.

How we have governed and helped the Filipinos.

The islands remained under military rule until July 1, 1901, when civil government was established. As soon as practicable the United States gave the natives a share in their government by allowing them to elect the lower house of their legislature (1907), and by the same act Congress allowed Philippine products to come into this country free of duties. The governor and the upper house, however, were to be appointed by the President and the Senate. Great efforts were made to guide the Filipinos to improved methods of administering their affairs. Harbors, highways, and railroads were constructed; better methods of tilling the soil than the islanders had known were introduced; more healthful ways of living were taught; and, perhaps best of all, a free public school system like our own was organized and put into operation. Hundreds of American teachers have been sent over to guide the Filipinos to a more civilized life.

120°
140°
SEA OF
OKHOTSK
SAGHALIEN
ISLAND
JAPAN
SEA
JAPAN
OCEAN
40°
CHOSEN
YELLOW
SEA
Tokyo
Yokohama
Shanghai
EAST
CHINA
SEA
Foochow
TROPIC OF CANCER
Hongkong
20°
LUZON
PHILIPPINE
Manila
SAMAR
ISLANDS
PARAGUA
MINDANAO
PACIFIC
OCEAN
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
0
110

Meanwhile it has remained a debated question with the American people whether it was better to grant the Filipinos independence or to keep them under the control of the United States as their protector, guide, and teacher until they were ready to take care of themselves.

As the Democratic party had all along opposed making the Filipinos a subject people, the Democratic Congress of 1917 passed a law which provided (1) that they should elect the upper

MARKET-PLACE, PONCE, PORTO RICO, AT THE TIME THE ISLAND WAS OCCUPIED BY U. S. TROOPS.

Note artillery at extreme left.

as well as the lower house of their legislature, and (2) that they should have their independence as soon as they proved themselves capable of home rule.

Porto Rico comes under control of the United States.

In the matter of government the people of Porto Rico took an attitude quite different from that of the Filipinos. They were willing to come under control of the United States. But the change from Spanish to American rule did not free them from all their troubles. They were in great financial distress. The war had paralyzed their trade, and a fierce hurricane had swept over the island in 1899, destroying property worth $22,000,000. The American people generously responded to their immediate need by distributing immense quantities of food; but some permanent measure was necessary to relieve

their distressing situation. In the spring of 1900, therefore, Congress returned to Porto Rico more than $2,000,000 that had come into our treasury in the form of duties laid upon imports from the island. Later all tariff rates between Porto Rico and the United States were removed. In April, 1900, Congress passed a law providing for a territorial government, under which the President of the United States appoints a governor and the people of the island elect a legislature.

President McKinley is assassinated.

Scarcely had the question of civil government in Porto Rico been settled when the country was astir with the excitement of another presidential campaign. The Republicans again nominated William McKinley for President, and the Democrats again named William J. Bryan. As in 1896, the leading issue before the country was whether there should be a free and unlimited coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1, or a gold standard. The people voted in favor of William McKinley and the gold standard.

Six months after his second inauguration, during a visit to the Pan-American Exposition[1] at Buffalo, President McKinley was assassinated. While receiving in line at a large gathering in the Temple of Music (September 6), he was shot by an anarchist, who approached him with a pistol concealed in a handkerchief wrapped about his hand. This dastardly act sent a thrill of horror through the land. During eight days the life of the President hung in suspense. On September 14 he died, deeply mourned by all the people. The Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, at once took the oath of office as President of the United States.

The Cubans, encouraged by the United States, establish the republic of Cuba (1902).

Under President Roosevelt the United States continued the friendly policy of the previous administration in its relation to the former Spanish possessions. When Spain gave up Cuba, the island came under the military authority of the United States. According to a joint resolution passed by Congress, this military control was to continue until order should be re-

[1] This was called the Pan-American Exposition because all the countries of North America, Central America, and South America were represented there.

stored and the Cubans should organize a government satisfactory to the United States. Early in November, 1900, a convention of Cubans met at Havana, and before the middle of February, 1901, completed a constitution modelled after that of the United States. On January 1, 1902, a president and members of congress were chosen in accordance with the provisions of the Cuban constitution, and on May 20, 1902, the new Cuban Government was formally inaugurated.

True to its pledges, the United States handed over the control of affairs to the recognized officials, and the people of the young republic entered upon their full independence. In thus keeping its promise, our country surprised those European statesmen who believed that when we declared war against Spain our purpose was not to free Cuba from Spain, but to make the island our own. Releasing the Cubans from all supervision in 1902 was the best possible proof to the world of our sincerity.

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THE FIRST HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, 1902, HAVANA.

The United States greatly improves sanitary conditions in Cuba.

In Cuba, as in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, the United States greatly improved sanitary conditions. Yellow fever had long been a scourge there, sweeping away thousands of people. When the natives learned from United States officials that the disease was carried by mosquitoes, they adopted sanitary measures, which destroyed the mosquitoes, and thus stamped out the fever. They also organized an effective system of public schools.

The Cuban Reciprocity Act was passed in December, 1903. It provided for a reduction of 20 per cent in tariff rates on

imports from Cuba into the United States, and thus greatly increased Cuban trade.

Our government protects the interests of the Dominican Republic and of Haiti.

For a century our country has followed the policy of protecting its weak neighbors from armed interference on the part of European powers. Accordingly, it took steps in 1907 to prevent France and Italy from using their armies and navies for the purpose of collecting debts owed their citizens by the Dominican Republic. Then by treaty with that country we agreed to supervise the revenues of the republic in order to make certain that the money should be collected with which to pay the French and Italian creditors. On another occasion (1914), during a revolution in the Dominican Republic, our government sent troops there to restore order.

For a similar reason, in the following year American marines were landed in Haiti, and our government agreed by treaty with Haiti (1916) to take control of the police system and the finances of that country. This was done as much in our own interest as in that of Haiti, in order to prevent the island from falling into European hands, for lying between Cuba and Porto Rico, and not far from the Panama Canal, it might be made an important strategic base. As the same possibility existed in the case of the Danish West Indies, near the coast of Porto Rico, the United States in 1917 purchased those islands from Denmark.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. What kind of government did we set up in the Philippines and in Porto Rico?
2. In what ways were we generous and helpful to these islands and to Cuba? Has Cuba shown her appreciation of our help?
3. Do you believe the Filipinos should have independence now? Give reasons.
4. What have we done for the people of the Philippines and Porto Rico to help them raise their standard of living?
5. By reading Coolidge's "The United States as a World Power," you will get a good conception of our new responsibilities as a nation.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 257–277; Paxson, *The New Nation;* Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, 134–147; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 764–777, 809–814; Latané, *America as a World Power*, chaps. VIII–IX.

POETRY: Kipling, *The White Man's Burden.*

D. World Relations and Further Victories for Arbitration

We help to establish the policy of the "open door" in China.

Our presence in the Philippine Islands and our rapidly increasing foreign commerce brought us into touch with affairs in the Far East. After the war between Japan and China, in 1894–1895, some of the European powers seized large areas of Chinese territory, known as "spheres of influence," in order to bring them under their control for trade. In 1899 John Hay, our far-seeing secretary of state, secured an agreement of these powers to guarantee to all nations equal rights of trade in China. Thus was established the policy of the "open door," which did much to prevent the partition of the Chinese Empire at that time by those European powers that coveted her vast resources for their own enrichment.

JOHN HAY.

The policy of the United States in the Boxer Rebellion pleases China.

The unseemly scramble for Chinese territory developed such bitter resentment in China that in 1900 there was an anti-foreign outbreak under the leadership of a secret society called "Boxers." With the help of native troops they attacked foreign legations and killed a number of foreigners, including the German minister. They also threatened the lives of other foreign ministers to Pekin. To rescue the legations and put down the uprising, the European powers, Japan, and the United States sent troops and order was restored. In the settlement of the difficulties our government exercised a predominating influence in favor of fair treatment of the Chinese. This was an incident in the persistent policy of the United States to preserve the territorial integrity of China.

China was forced to pay, to the various nations whose subjects had suffered by loss of property or life, large sums of money, or indemnities. The whole amount was $333,000,000, the share

allotted to the United States being $24,000,000. A few years later this country returned one-half of her share, because she had needed to use only $12,000,000 to satisfy all claims for the damages and losses sustained by American citizens. As a sign of her appreciation, China has set aside this sum as a special

AMERICAN SOLDIERS ENTERING TANG-CHOW, CHINA, DURING THE BOXER REBELLION.

fund, the proceeds of which she uses to defray the expenses of Chinese students sent to this country to attend our higher institutions of learning.

The United States is given sole power to construct and control the Panama Canal.

Our growing commercial interests required the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama or some narrow part of Central America, and public opinion demanded that it should be owned and controlled by our government. Hence, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty[1] was negotiated between the United States and England and signed in November, 1901. It provided that the United States should have sole power to construct, control,

[1] This treaty abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer convention of 1850, which provided that neither of the two countries should ever "obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said [isthmian] canal."

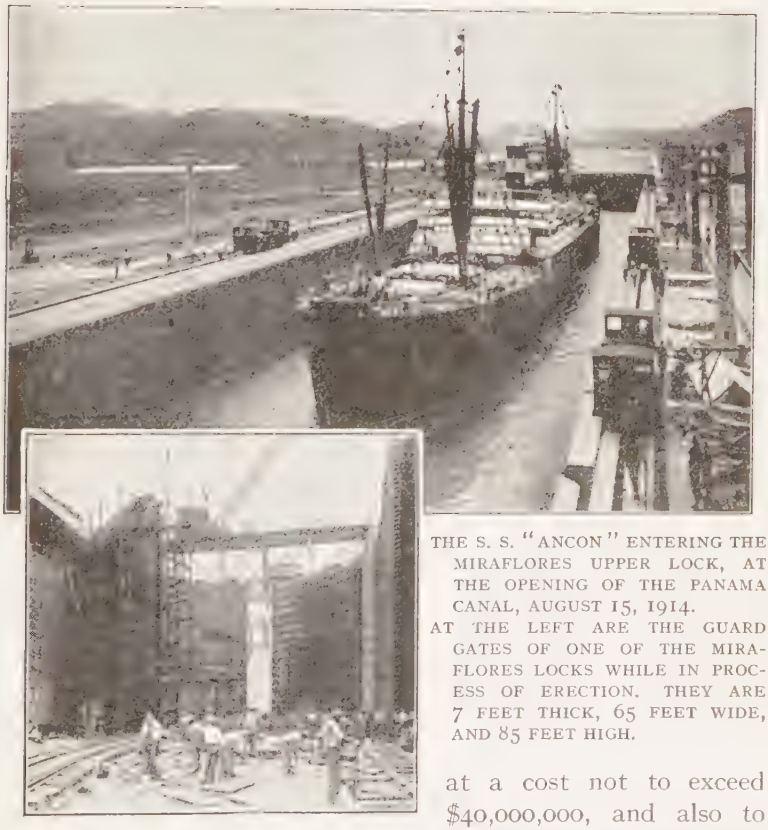
UNITING THE ATLANTIC AND THE PACIFIC—EXCAVATING FOR THE PANAMA CANAL.

President Roosevelt in 1906 personally inspected the work under the escort of John F. Stevens, then chief engineer, at which time he prepared an illustrated message to Congress on the Canal work.

From a painting by Thornton Oakley.

and defend an isthmian canal for the benefit of the commerce of the world.

The next step toward its construction was the passage by Congress in June, 1902, of the Isthmian Canal Act. This empowered the President to purchase the unfinished Panama Canal[1]



THE S. S. "ANCON" ENTERING THE MIRAFLORES UPPER LOCK, AT THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL, AUGUST 15, 1914.

AT THE LEFT ARE THE GUARD GATES OF ONE OF THE MIRAFLORES LOCKS WHILE IN PROCESS OF ERECTION. THEY ARE 7 FEET THICK, 65 FEET WIDE, AND 85 FEET HIGH.

at a cost not to exceed $40,000,000, and also to acquire by treaty from the republic of Colombia a strip of land, at least six miles wide, extending across the isthmus. Within this strip the United States was to construct, operate, and protect a canal, and control its terminal ports.

[1] A French company directed by Ferdinand de Lesseps had attempted to build such a canal. But after an expenditure of vast sums and the loss of hundreds of lives from disease in that unhealthy region, the work was abandoned.

The republic of Panama is established.

The Colombian Government rejected the treaty proposed by the United States, but the people of the state of Panama, feeling that their interests had been disregarded, took the matter into their own hands and revolted from Colombia on November 3, 1903. A provisional government was quickly organized and the political independence of the republic of Panama was proclaimed. The new republic was recognized by the United States November 6.

We make a canal treaty with Panama.

On November 18 a new canal treaty was signed by Secretary Hay and the representative of Panama. By its terms Panama granted to the United States "in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control" of a zone of land ten miles wide on the margins of the canal. In return the United States guaranteed the independence of Panama, the payment of $10,000,000 when the treaty should become active, and after nine years an annual payment of $250,000. The Senate of the United States ratified this treaty on February 23, 1904.

Congress exempts American coastwise shipping from paying canal tolls (1913). The law is repealed in 1914.

According to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the shipping of all countries was to pay equal rates for the use of the Panama Canal. Many of our citizens held that "all countries" could legally mean all other countries *except* our own. There were others who held that "all countries" included our own. So Congress, recognizing the controversy, passed a law (1913) exempting American coastwise shipping from paying tolls. However, other governments, and many leading Americans, believed this to be a violation of the treaty and, even more, a violation of good faith. President Wilson, in February, 1914, in a special message to Congress, asked for its repeal. After long and able debates in both the House and the Senate, Congress passed a bill for the repeal, but incorporated in it an amendment that the repeal was not to be interpreted as giving up any right of the United States under the Hay-Pauncefote treaty.

ISLAND APPROACHES
TO THE
PANAMA CANAL
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
Charleston
Jacksonville
Mobile
New Orleans
Galveston
San Antonio
Rio Grande
Matamoros
Tampico
Vera Cruz
Mexico
Key West
Florida Strait
Nassau
BAHAMA ISLANDS
TROPIC OF CANCER
Havana
Matanzas
CUBA
Yucatan Channel
Santiago de Cuba
Windward Passage
GREATER ANTILLES
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Port au Prince
Santo Domingo
PORTO RICO
San Juan
WEST INDIES
VIRGIN IS.
ST. THOMAS
ST. JOHN
ST. CROIX
JAMAICA
BRITISH HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
CENTRAL AMERICA
COSTA RICA
PANAMA CANAL
Colon
Panama
Gulf of Panama
SOUTH AMERICA
Orinoco R.
100° 90° 80° 70° 60°
30° 20° 10°
Longitude West from Greenwich

The opening of the Panama Canal begins a new era.

Between ten and eleven years after the Senate ratified the treaty with Panama, the Panama Canal was opened to commerce (1914). There is little doubt that this event was the beginning of a new era in our national history, and for the following reasons: (1) The canal supplies a short, quick, and cheap water route between the ports of the

THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Where the International Conference on Armaments was held in 1921.

Atlantic and the gulf seaboard and the ports of the Pacific seaboard. (2) It shortens the distance between our Pacific states and Europe, as well as between our Atlantic states and Australia, the Philippine Islands, China and Japan. (3) It is also likely to prove a powerful force for good in our relations with the twelve Latin-American states bordering on the Pacific, for the increase in trade and travel will promote a better understanding and a more friendly feeling. To advance this relationship, there is already maintained at Washington an international organization, the Pan-American Union, whose purpose is to develop closer business and commercial relations between the United

States and the twenty republics to the south of us, as well as to form closer ties of friendship and good-will.

Our foreign trade has had an enormous growth.

With the growth of wealth in the United States the volume of trade has steadily increased. Agricultural, mining, and manufactured products have more than kept pace with the growing population, and the surplus has found a ready market among the nations of the world. Our foreign trade, indeed, has become a fair measure of our economic progress. The nation, during its first century, was largely agricultural, and had to depend on foreign markets for many of its manufactured goods. By the close of that century the value of our factory products more than equalled the value of farm products, and to-day has far exceeded them. We are now the leading manufacturing nation in the world. Moreover, during the period of development our exports did not pay for our imports. Since then exports have exceeded imports, and the United States has advanced to the position of the foremost exporting nation in the world.

In connection with the growth of our foreign trade we should notice that our imports have consisted mainly of raw materials used in manufactures, and of luxuries, that is, things not really needed. The value of our total exports for 1917 was over $6,294,000,000; of our total imports, nearly $2,659,000,000, making an excess of exports of $3,635,000,000. This volume of foreign trade is, therefore, not only a measure of the expanding commerce but also of the growing wealth of the nation. And when we learn that our domestic commerce is many times larger than our foreign, we may have a faint idea of the size of the country and of its business.

President Roosevelt acts as peacemaker in concluding the war between Japan and Russia.

As the possessions of the United States have extended over the seas, the influence of our government has been felt in the councils of foreign nations. On February 6, 1904, war broke out between Russia and Japan. The Western nations, shocked by the frightful loss of life, watched the struggle with concern. When the progress of the war and the conditions of the opposing forces seemed to war-

rant, President Roosevelt addressed a note to the governments of Russia and Japan (June 8, 1905) and urged them in their own interest, as well as in the interest of the civilized world, to agree upon terms of peace.

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JAPANESE AND RUSSIAN PEACE ENVOYS WITH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, ON BOARD THE "MAYFLOWER," AUGUST 5, 1905.

The outcome was a conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, chosen as neutral ground, between commissioners from each of the two countries. The people all over the world waited in suspense as the commissioners, week after week, continued to discuss questions of peace and war. There was a wide difference between the points of view of the two groups, and each was so unyielding that a satisfactory settlement was difficult. President Roosevelt, who was constantly in touch with the situation, was determined to use all his official influence and his powers of persuasion to bring about peace. Accordingly, when it seemed likely that the conference had come to a deadlock and was about to result in failure, with well-timed decision and tact, he brought about a delay until he could communicate with the Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Japan. As a result, the home governments sent instructions to the commissioners at Portsmouth which enabled them to arrive at an agreement. The successful outcome of President Roosevelt's intervention indicated the growing influence of the United States in the affairs of the world.

This conference occurred a few months after Roosevelt was inaugurated as President. He had won such popularity that he was elected in the campaign of 1904 by a larger vote than had ever been cast for a presidential nominee. The Democratic candidate opposing him was Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York.

The cruise of our Atlantic fleet around the world creates great interest (1907–1909).

An evidence of the development of our naval power was made manifest in December, 1907, when the battle fleet of the United States navy, including sixteen battleships, started from Hampton Roads, Virginia, on a cruise around the world. The route was along South America and around the Pacific coast to San Francisco, then westward to Australia, the Philippine Islands, Japan, and China, through the Indian Ocean, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Straits of Gibraltar. The voyage was completed on Washington's Birthday, 1909, when the fleet arrived at Hampton Roads after having travelled more than thirty thousand miles. Everywhere it was received with great enthusiasm.

The cruise was a noteworthy event in our naval history. It not only tested and proved the expert seamanship of our navy; it also added to its prestige and showed our people and the world that we were prepared to protect our interests in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic.

The Second Peace Conference is held (1907).

In marked contrast with this cruise of war-ships was the Second Peace Conference[1] held in the same year at The Hague. The first meeting of the Conference had met at the same place in 1899, and had established the Court of Arbitration. These meetings, which included distinguished men from the various civilized countries, were held in the interests of international peace and good-will. In both conferences our country took a leading part in advancing the peaceful settlement of disagreements between nations.

The modern method of warfare, with its cost of maintaining vast armies and navies, was proving a great strain upon the people of all nations. But even this burden was not to be compared with the frightful suffering and loss of life caused by war. Although the United States is a peaceful nation, its wars have cost enormously. A large part of the national revenue is paid out in war pensions, in interest on war debts, and in the support

[1] At the first, twenty-six of the powers of the world were represented; at the second, forty-four.

of the army and navy. It was hoped that these peace conferences would provide means for settling by arbitration all disagreements between nations, just as those between individual men are now settled by courts of law.

Each nation represented in this court appointed delegates who, when called upon, were to serve as judges in international dis-

THE SECOND PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE, JUNE 15, 1907.

putes. When any two nations should have a disagreement and refer the matter to the court, each was to select from among the judges a small number to try the case and settle the disagreement. Many believed this to be a step toward a supreme court of the world, which would decide issues between nations as our Supreme Court does between separate states.

While many Americans were interesting themselves actively in the world peace movement, matters of deep concern at home commanded attention. One was the election of a chief executive in the campaign of 1908. President Roosevelt's hold upon the Republican party was so strong that it followed his recommendation by nominating his secretary of war, William Howard

Taft, for President. The Democrats for the third time nominated William Jennings Bryan. Taft was elected.

The Newfoundland fisheries dispute is settled by arbitration in 1910.

President Taft was a powerful advocate of the settlement of international disagreements by peaceful methods. It was during his administration that the Newfoundland fisheries dispute came before the Hague court (1910). For more than a hundred years there had been friction in North Atlantic waters as to the rights of American fishermen. After many fruitless efforts at settlement, it was referred by the United States and Great Britain to the Hague Court of Arbitration, and was adjusted to the satisfaction of both countries.

President Taft favors general arbitration treaties on the part of our country with Great Britain and France.

This international dispute concerning fisheries is only one of many that have been settled by the Hague court. Almost every important nation in the world has been a party to settlements of this kind. Since the First Peace Conference at The Hague most countries have entered into treaties by which they agree to settle certain kinds of differences by arbitration.[1] Usually, however, questions involving "vital interests, independence, and honor" are excepted. President Taft strongly disapproved of such formal exceptions, and negotiated treaties with England and France without them, but the Senate opposed him. It refused to ratify the treaties without important amendments, and would not "delegate to any other body its treaty-making power under the Constitution."

The United States is now a world-power.

Our prominence in the two peace conferences held at The Hague emphasizes far-reaching changes that have taken place during the last hundred years in this country's relation to the great powers of Europe.

The American Revolution, fought to secure our independence from England, came to an end without any strong spirit of union between the states. Even under the Constitution for a

[1] Our country has signed many such treaties.

BRITISH POSSESSIONS
OREGON TERRITORY 1846
LOUISIANA TERRITORY
1818 FROM GREAT BRITAIN
1818
LINE NATURAL
MEXICAN CESSION
1848
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
TEXAS ANNEXATION
1845
ORIGINAL AREA OF THE UNITED STATES
1783
U.S. FROM SPAIN 1819
FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Duluth
Minneapolis
Omaha
Denver
St. Louis
Memphis
Cincinnati
Detroit
Milwaukee
Chicago
Buffalo
Albany
Boston
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
Pittsburgh
Charleston
Savannah
New Orleans
Galveston
San Francisco
San Diego
Salt Lake City
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Red R.
Rio Grande
Arkansas R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Potomac R.
Hudson R.
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario

TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1783 TO 1917

All drawn to same scale

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

6,449 Sq. Miles

HAWAIIAN IS. 1898

225 Sq. Miles

MIDWAY I. 1898

WAKE I. 1898

GUAM 1898

102 Sq. Miles

HOWLAND I.

BAKER I.

SAMOA IS. 1898

3,606 Sq. Miles

PORTO RICO 1898

VIRGIN IS. 1917

About 505 Sq. Miles

PANAMA CANAL ZONE, 1903

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1898

114,400 Sq. Miles

590,884 Sq. Miles

time our country was so weak from lack of union that it did not command the respect of Europe. After the War of 1812, which secured our commercial independence, the spirit of nationalism took root. In less than ten years we gave expression to our consciousness of national strength by setting forth what is known as the Monroe Doctrine. Its central idea was "America for Americans," and it supplemented Washington's Farewell Address, which had for one of its dominant ideas "Europe for Europeans."

These two maxims stand roughly for the traditional attitude of our nation toward Europe until the time of the Spanish-American War of 1898. When that war closed we were in control of extensive territory overseas that had previously belonged to Spain and, our nation was a world-power.

The United States becomes "Greater America."

By this expansion the United States had become "Greater America," with world-wide interests, and our wishes received consideration in every part of the globe. Our people were conscious of new strength. They were ready to solve new problems and to face with courage new responsibilities. Henceforth the United States stood prepared to take an active and leading part in the affairs of the world. This new prominence as a world-power made us an important rival of England, France, and Germany, in competition for the commerce of the world.

But these countries, also, as well as some others of Europe, had been undergoing a transformation. Let us briefly note how there came to be a Greater Britain, a Greater France, a Greater Germany, and a Greater Russia.

Five great powers in Europe.

After the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815 there were five great powers in Europe—Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. This situation remained without much change, though with some difference in relative strength, for nearly sixty years. Then followed two movements which altered the entire balance of the European world. The first of these movements was toward national unity and the second toward national expansion.

All parts of Italy are united in a single kingdom in 1870.

Italy had been for ages a mere "geographical expression." It was not a single kingdom like Spain, but was made up of several kingdoms and other states, some ruled by Austria and some by the Roman Pontiff. For many years patriots had striven to make of these a united Italy, and in 1848 an armed contest began for this ideal. It ended in 1870 with the complete union of all parts of Italy into a single kingdom, with a constitution and a national parliament.

The next country to form a union of its many states was Germany. Austria and Prussia, the most important ones, had long been rivals for leadership. But in 1866, in a seven weeks' war, Prussia defeated Austria and then forced many of the other states into a new North German Confederation, with the King of Prussia at its head.

Thus did Prussia suddenly rise to a leading position among the great powers of Europe. But one more war was fought before there was established a true union of German states under the leadership of Prussia. This was the Franco-Prussian War, which occurred in 1870. Like the conflict between Prussia and Austria, it was brief, for within six weeks the French were overwhelmingly defeated by the Germans and the French Emperor captured. At the end of seven months the Germans were in possession of Paris and had conquered France.

The German Empire is created in 1871.

The Germans compelled France to pay $1,000,000,000 as war indemnity, and to give up Alsace and Lorraine. But the most marked result of the war was in Germany herself, where a new Germanic Empire was created. All the German states except those of the Austrian Empire—Austria had by this time united with Hungary to form Austria-Hungary—were now united (1871) in one federal empire, with a written constitution, and with the King of Prussia, having the title of German Emperor, at its head. The creation of the German Empire was a landmark in European history; for Prussia could now control the policy of all Germany. Under such leadership and guidance Germany was certain to exercise an enormous influence upon Europe and the world.

European countries engage in a wild scramble for territory.

Some years after this spirit of national union had made itself felt in Italy and Germany, there began among the European countries a scramble for territory in foreign lands. "Spheres of influence" were sought, because of a keen desire for new markets to increase commerce and enrich the people. This marked the beginning of a fresh era of expansion.

Of all these countries, England had been the most successful in colonizing. Having lost her thirteen American colonies because she had governed them mostly in her own interests, in course of time she had allowed other colonies—Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, for instance—the privilege of managing their own affairs. While holding these and others in various parts of the world loyal to herself, she wished to extend her empire still farther as a means of expanding her commerce.

A feverish desire for expansion lays hold upon Germany, France, and Russia.

Germany, with a large and ever-increasing population, needed an outlet for her industries and commerce. And she also was resolved to gain new territory beyond the seas. France, not wishing to be left behind, joined the procession of powers. She still retained the old belief that the acquisition of colonies would add to the national wealth. Russia alone was able to expand along her borders instead of across the sea; but she needed additional seaports, and these the other powers were determined to deny her.

By the end of the century almost all of Africa and more than half of Asia had come under control of European powers. Thus had come about during the nineteenth century a Greater England, a Greater Germany, a Greater France, and a Greater Russia. And all these countries, in their gigantic struggle for control of new territory, were engaged in world-wide competition for world-trade.

A spirit of co-operation arises among the nations.

The spirit of nationalism and expansion developed intense political rivalry and competition among the great nations of the twentieth century. But while competition stimulates progress, co-operation is necessary for success. Na-

tions are coming to realize this. They are learning that prosperity comes from pulling together and not against one another. This co-operative spirit found its most advanced expression in the two Hague peace conferences of which we have spoken. It was hoped that their influence would strengthen international good-will, on a basis of common interest, and thus contribute to the general welfare in all lands.

Woodrow Wilson elected President in 1912.

A question of more absorbing interest to our people than even international relations was the presidential campaign of 1912. Among the issues of far-reaching importance were the tariff, proper methods of dealing with business trusts, and the conservation of our natural resources. On these great national issues was formed the Progressive party. Its candidate for President was Theodore Roosevelt. The Republicans nominated for a second term President Taft. Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate, was elected.

A critical situation between the United States and Mexico threatens war.

When President Wilson took up the duties of his office our neighbor to the south was in a political turmoil brought on by leaders who were ambitious for political power. In 1911 a revolution broke out in Mexico against President Porfirio Diaz, who for thirty-two years had ruled despotically. He was driven out of power and Francisco Madero became president. Two years later an uprising in the city of Mexico resulted in the overthrow and death of Madero. Then, by the aid of the Mexican army, General Huerta rose to the position of dictator. But many Mexicans would not submit to Huerta, and took up arms in an insurrection that kept growing in volume and strength. The opposition called themselves Constitutionalists.

President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta on two grounds (1) He had not been elected by the people in a lawful way, and (2) according to the best evidence obtainable, his hold upon the presidency gave too little promise of stability to justify his recognition by the United States.

The refusal led to much bitter feeling toward our government on the part of Huerta and his followers. This was unfortunate

for American business in Mexico. Americans had invested many hundred million dollars in Mexican mines, oil-wells, railroads, and plantations, and during the years of civil strife had lost much of this valuable property, which had been seized or destroyed. Worse still, many American citizens had been killed, and the lives of many others were in great peril.

President Wilson was urged to send troops into Mexico to protect American life and property and at the same time restore

UNITED STATES MARINES IN VERA CRUZ.

order. He refused on the ground that the Mexicans should be allowed to settle their troubles and work out their problems in their own way. However, after a time, the situation became so dangerous, not alone to Americans living in Mexico but to those on the border, that it was thought expedient to send war-vessels to Mexican waters. On April 10, 1914, a body of sailors from one of our gunboats landed at Tampico to secure gasolene. They were arrested and thrown into prison. Admiral Mayo, commanding the American fleet in the harbor, at once demanded their release. This was granted, and both the federal general in command at Tampico and General Huerta himself expressed regret over the affair.

Admiral Mayo was not satisfied. In accordance with the

long-standing custom of nations, he demanded a salute to our flag by the firing of twenty-one Mexican guns. Huerta refused, and President Wilson sent a fleet of war-vessels to capture Vera Cruz in reparation for the insult to our flag. On April 21 a force of American marines landed there, and after some fighting and the loss of a small number of men, they captured the city and seized the custom-house.

It looked like the beginning of war. But before there was any more fighting the ministers to the United States from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile offered their services as mediators. President Wilson promptly accepted the offer, and a conference was held in May at Niagara Falls, with three American and three Mexican envoys, to arrange a plan of settlement.

Latin-American states become more friendly to us.

Although the mediators did not succeed in ending the trouble, war between the two countries was averted. Moreover, the mere fact that our government was quite willing to accept the offer of mediation from three South American states doubtless caused all the Latin-American states to be more friendly toward us as a people. It helped to assure them that we had no thought of making the troubles in Mexico an excuse for getting control, by force, of Mexican territory, as they were inclined to fear.

American troops invade Mexico.

Civil war continued. Huerta was driven from the country, and in the autumn of 1915 the United States and the Latin-American powers recognized Venustiano Carranza, leader of the Constitutionalist party, as the head of the provisional government of Mexico. Trouble again became acute in the spring of 1916, when bandits from the army of Francisco Villa, a rebel outlaw, crossed the border-line between the two countries and made an attack upon Columbus, New Mexico. As we could get no satisfaction from the Mexican Government, General John J. Pershing, with several thousand American troops stationed at the border, invaded Mexico for the purpose of capturing Villa, but without success. The presence of American troops on Mexican soil caused so much resentment in that country that Carranza insisted that they be withdrawn. This was done some months later.

As border raids still continued, President Wilson, early in the summer of 1916, ordered the National Guard of every state to mobilize and prepare for military service on the border of

6TH U. S. CAVALRY ON THE MARCH IN MEXICO DURING THE EXPEDITION UNDER GENERAL PERSHING.

Mexico. About 100,000 men encamped there by the end of summer, but they were gradually withdrawn before the beginning of winter.

In the midst of these complications with Mexico our country was giving earnest attention to a presidential election. Woodrow Wilson, who was completing his first term as President, was the Democratic candidate, and Charles E. Hughes, a justice of the Supreme Court, was the Republican nominee. The Democrats took the position that a long-needed programme of domestic legislation had been completed during Wilson's administration and that he had kept us out of war. The Republicans held that his foreign policy was weak and vacillating, and that he had not given proper protection to the lives and property of Americans abroad. President Wilson was re-elected, receiving twenty-one more electoral votes than his opponent.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. What is the policy of the "open door" in China? What is meant by the territorial integrity of China? Why do the leading nations guard it so jealously?
2. Explain how the Panama Canal is helping the commerce not only of our own country but also of the world.
3. Subject for debate: Resolved, That the United States was in honor bound to repeal the Panama Tolls Act of 1913.
4. If disagreements between nations were settled by peaceful methods, what results would follow? In what ways is co-operation an advantage among individual men and women and also among countries? Do our states co-operate? Would it be possible for nations to co-operate on a similar basis? Would it be desirable?
5. What are the aims of the Pan-American Union? Do you think our forbearance in Mexico during the last few years has made for a more friendly attitude on the part of South American republics?
6. What reasons, if any, in the past have republics south of the United States had to question our good intentions? Review all acquirements of territory from 1823 to the Panama Canal Zone in connection with the guardianship we assumed under the Monroe Doctrine.
7. For clear understanding of the peace movement read Gulliver's "The Friendship of Nations."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, 267–281, 327–340; Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 300–309; Latané, *America as a World Power*, chaps. XII, XIV; Fish, *The Development of American Nationality;* Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 814–827; Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt;* contemporary magazines.

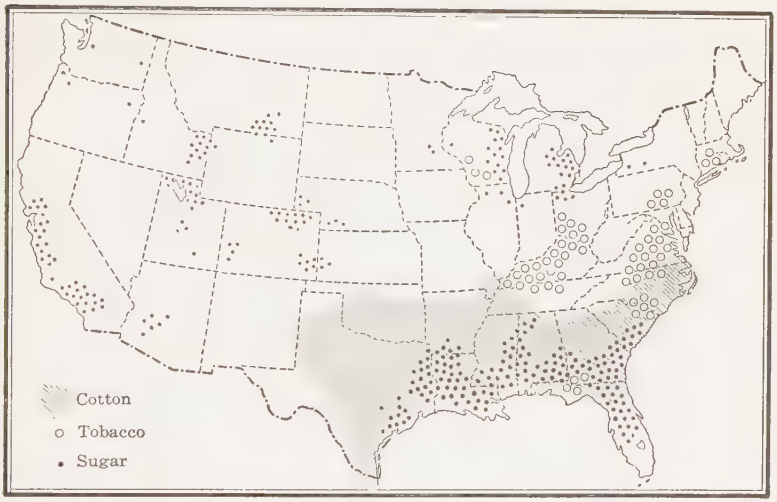
E. Science and Invention Bring about New Processes and Methods of Production

Scientific inventions have greatly aided men in various ways.

In the foregoing pages we have learned something about the uses of science and invention. Together these have aided man in bringing the forces of nature under his control and have given him the power to accomplish far more by his labor than he could otherwise have done. Improved machinery, the transfer of industry from the household and small shop to the mill and the factory, new agricultural methods, and better means of travel, transportation, and communication have so increased the output of food, clothing, and

other necessaries of life that the day-laborer can now have comforts and conveniences which were not available even for the very rich fifty or sixty years ago.

Never in a period of the same length in all history have so many wonderful inventions been made as in the years that have passed since the Civil War. It would seem as though



PRODUCTION AREAS OF COTTON, TOBACCO, AND SUGAR.

inventors have been striving to build a machine for every kind of work. As a consequence, there has been since 1865 a revolution in all kinds of industry, including agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and transportation, which has transformed industrial life and brought about a stupendous increase in the material wealth of the whole country.

The new era in agriculture is based on scientific methods.

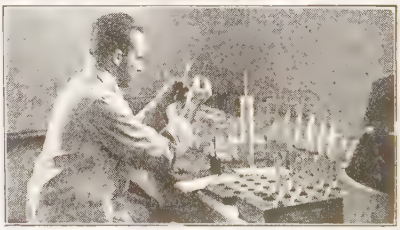
We have already referred to the tractor and gang-plow and the wonderful reaping and threshing machines used by the farmers in developing the West, and also to the revolution in agricultural methods in the South since the Civil War. In 1862 Congress took a most important step when it authorized the establishment of the Bureau of Agriculture and also made provision for the support of agri-

cultural colleges from the proceeds of the sales of public lands. Since that time much attention has been given to training for life on the farm. There are now more than sixty agricultural colleges established in various parts of the country and model farms and experiment stations in every state in the Union.

All these agencies are teaching the farmer more scientific methods of agriculture. From soil analysis he learns what crops will grow best on his land, and by crop rotation and a more

Photographs © Ewing Galloway.

A MODERN DAIRY BARN ON AN ELECTRICALLY EQUIPPED FARM.



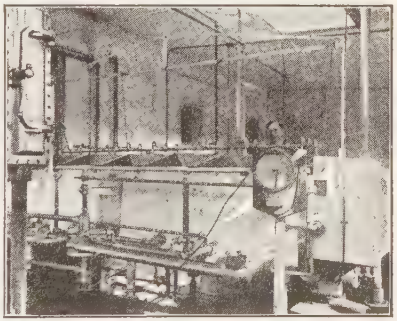
RIGHT, GOVERNMENT SCIENTIST TESTING MILK, WITH A VIEW TO INCREASING THE NATION'S MILK SUPPLY THROUGH BREEDING AND SCIENTIFIC FEEDING.

intelligent use of fertilizers he keeps the soil productive. He also learns how to destroy insect pests and how to protect the sheep and cattle from disease. By a careful process of selection, better and more productive grains have been made available all over the country. New crops, like alfalfa, which has been of untold value to the stock-raiser, have been adapted to certain localities. Silos by the thousands in the great corn belt store and preserve in palatable and digestible form for the stock highly nutritive foods, like corn-stalks, that in the days of our grandfathers were wasted. Scientific farming has led to marked im-

provement in the breeding of sheep, horses, and cattle so that they have a much higher commercial value than those raised in former times. The coming of pure-bred stock has ushered in a new era of live-stock production and dairying.

Scientific methods have been applied to the dairy industry.

A great improvement has been made in recent years in the butter-making process. The old dasher churn has given place to the creamery, which has revolutionized dairy methods and the care of milk and cream. No longer does the milk remain for hours in pans or jars until the cream rises to the top, but immediately after milking the cream is extracted by running the milk through the separator. It is then cooled to await delivery to the creamery. The Babcock test enables the creamery to estimate accurately the content of butter-fat in milk or cream and consequently their value; and it also enables the farmer to test the richness of the milk from each cow, so that he may be able to select and retain the best animals in the herd.



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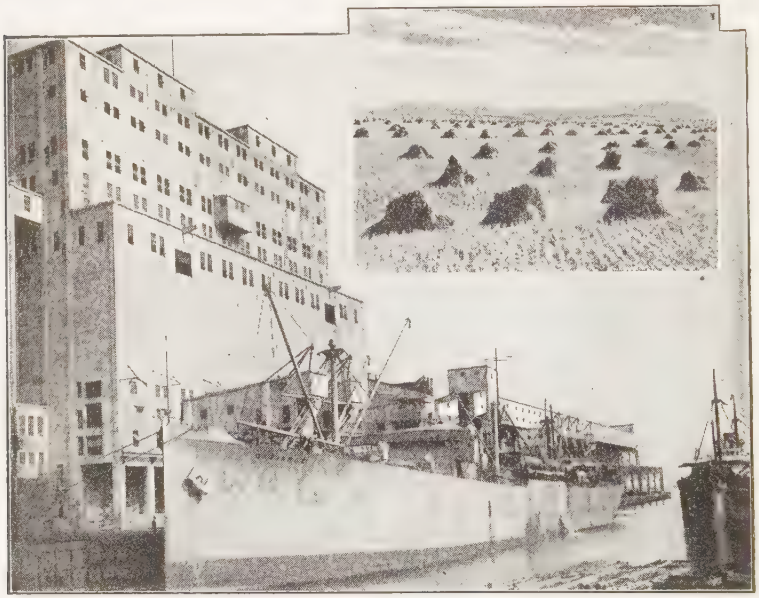
A PASTEURIZING MACHINE IN A DAIRY, SHOWING TANK IN WHICH MILK IS HEATED.

For many reasons, therefore, we may say that the advance in scientific farming is one of the most helpful developments of our time. It has created a back-to-the-farm movement, because farming has become an industry of increasing returns. With improved machinery and with much less expenditure of time, and labor, and money, the farmer can now raise crops far greater in quantity and, therefore, of much greater value than was possible two generations ago.

Wheat is a great factor in the world's market.

Of all our agricultural products, none is so important in the world's market as wheat. In 1920 the United States produced more than 750,000,000 bushels of wheat, or between one-fourth and one-fifth of all the wheat in the world.

The great wheat section in the United States extends northward from Kansas through Minnesota, and from there westward through the Dakotas into the fertile valleys and basins of Montana and the rolling hills of northern Idaho and western Wash-



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ABOVE, A BIT OF MONTANA'S WHEAT-FIELDS. A GRAIN-ELEVATOR AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, HAVING A 5,000,000-BUSHEL CAPACITY AND EQUIPMENT FOR LOADING SEVERAL SHIPS AT A TIME.

ington. Many of the wheat farms are miles in extent and include thousands of acres. Some, in fact, are so large that even on level ground one cannot look entirely across them; and when the wind is stirring over the ripening grain one imagines he is looking over a wonderful sea of gold.

When the wheat is reaped and threshed, the grain falls into a large grain wagon, or is sacked, and hauled to the nearest grain-elevator, or to a storehouse on the farm. Later it is sent by rail to the great elevator and milling centres at Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Chicago, or Buffalo. Some of these elevators can each store as much as 5,000,000 bushels until the grain is shipped to other markets or ground into flour. The mills of Minneapolis,

Above, © B. L. Singley. *© Ewing Galloway.*

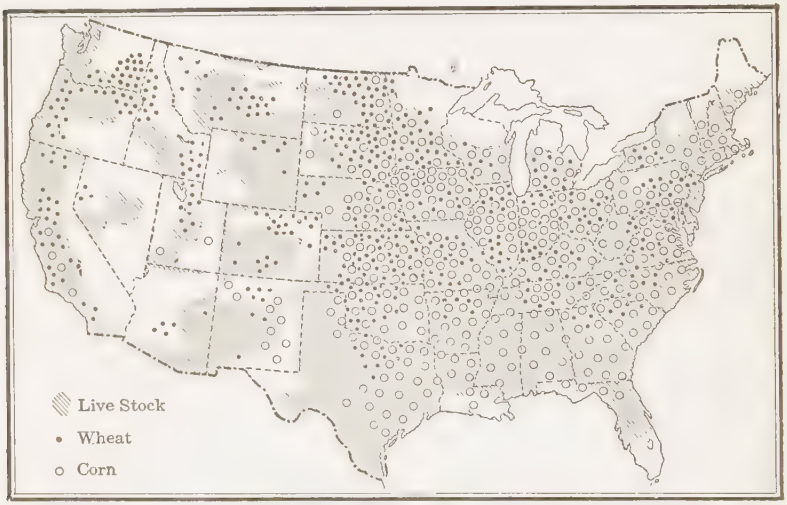
ABOVE, A COWBOY ON A ROUND-UP IN THE WEST. RIGHT, INTERIOR OF PACKING-HOUSE. BELOW, CHICAGO STOCKYARDS.

the most important milling centre in the world, are run by water-power, furnished by the Falls of St. Anthony, and can grind 80,000 barrels of flour in a single day.

Cattle-raising in the West is another important American industry.

Another great American industry is that of cattle-raising. A wide belt stretching westward from the 100th meridian to the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains is semi-arid land. It includes parts of Texas,

Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. Although the rainfall here is for the most part too light to grow corn and wheat very successfully without irrigation, these dry plains have sufficient growth to support immense herds of sheep and cattle, and thereby supply us with a large



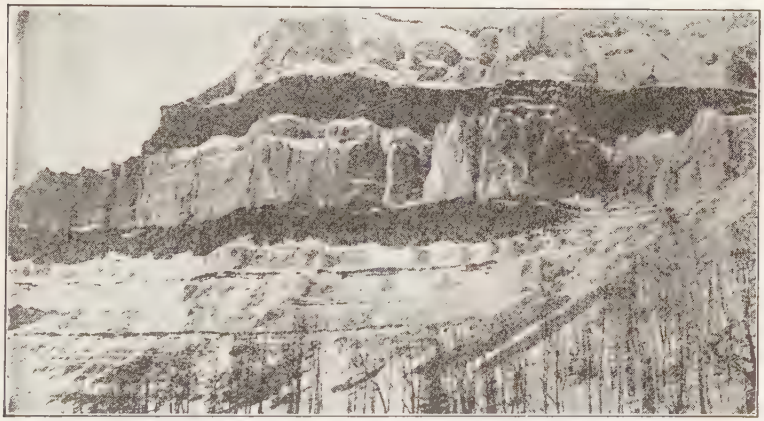
part of our beef and mutton. Cattle by the hundred thousand still feed on the large ranches of these regions.

In spite of the lack of rain, settlers have in the last three decades taken up homesteads in the range-lands to such an extent for general farming purposes that the cattle-ranchers have had to fence the lands they own or lease. Every year there are fewer large ranches and more small ones. With the passing of the free range has gone that very picturesque figure of the West, the American cowboy.

In July or August the mature and fatted animals are selected and driven from the ranches to the shipping-stations on the railroad. Here they are loaded in live-stock cars and sent by rail to the stock-yards of such meat-packing centres as Kansas City, Omaha, and Chicago, or to points farther east. The next step is to slaughter them and pack the meat in refrigerator-cars, which carry it to all parts of the country for distribution to consumers and for export.

The refrigerator-car and cold storage greatly influence the distribution of food.

The refrigerator-car, brought into operation shortly after the Civil War, has become indispensable as a means of transporting, for long distances, meats and fresh fruit. Cold storage, also, has been of great service to producers and consumers alike. The ammonia process of maintaining a low temperature has made it possible



MILLIONS OF TONS OF COAL AWAITING THE MINER IN THE NENANA COAL-FIELDS ON THE NENANA RIVER, ALASKA.

to hold in storage for many months eggs, butter, fruit, vegetables, meats, and other foods in large quantities.

Coal, iron, and steel find a large place in modern life.

The world of industry has long depended upon iron. In reducing or purifying iron ore, coal is needed. During the eighteenth century in England iron had been separated from its ore by means of charcoal, but as great quantities of wood were consumed in making charcoal, the forests were rapidly reduced, and charcoal grew more and more costly. The same conditions were true, although to a less extent, in our own country. A cheaper method of manufacturing iron and steel was greatly needed. This was found (1840) by using anthracite (hard) coal instead of charcoal in the process of smelting, that is, separating the iron from its ore. A revolution was thus wrought in the iron industry, cheapening production and increasing the output.

The Bessemer process brings a second revolution in the use of steel.

The Bessemer process (1859) of forcing a blast of air through the metal while molten, thus burning out carbon and other impurities, wrought a second revolution. By this time bituminous (soft) coal, which was more easily mined, had taken the place of anthracite, and by its use gave additional stimulus to the steel

© *Ewing Galloway.*

HELLGATE STEEL RAILROAD BRIDGE, NEW YORK, BY MEANS OF WHICH AND THE PENNSYLVANIA AND LONG ISLAND TUNNELS IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO GO CONTINUOUSLY BY RAIL FROM BOSTON TO WASHINGTON.

industry. By greatly cheapening the manufacture of steel rails, it also played a large part in the extension of railroad systems. For steel rails, being stronger than iron, made possible the use of larger locomotives and heavier trains, and permitted a higher rate of speed. They are, indeed, the foundation of cheap and rapid transportation, which plays so large a part in our modern life.

Since the discovery of the Bessemer process, all the railroads in the country have been relaid with steel rails. Steel is also used extensively in the structure of bridges, of tunnels, of large buildings including our "sky-scrapers"—of war-vessels and ocean steamers, as well as in the making of tools, machines, and other inventions and conveniences of everyday use, all of which

AN AIRPLANE PHOTOGRAPH OF BATTERY PARK AND THE STEEL STRUCTURES OF LOWER MANHATTAN.

The circular building in the foreground is the old fort, now the Aquarium. Slightly above and to the left of it are a few old low buildings, showing an early sky-line.

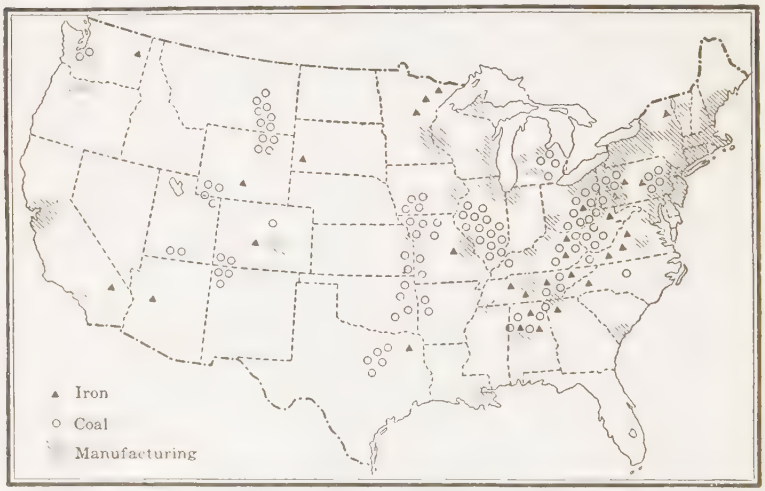
INSIDE A GREAT STEEL PLANT—ONE OF THE LARGEST DROP-FORGES IN THE WORLD.

A 14,000-ton hydraulic press forging a heavy open-hearth steel plate.

cost less since the Bessemer process has been discovered. The period following this discovery has often been called by many writers the "age of steel," for our natural products of iron and coal have been the greatest forces in the development of industry in this country.

Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Chicago, and Cleveland become important iron manufacturing centres.

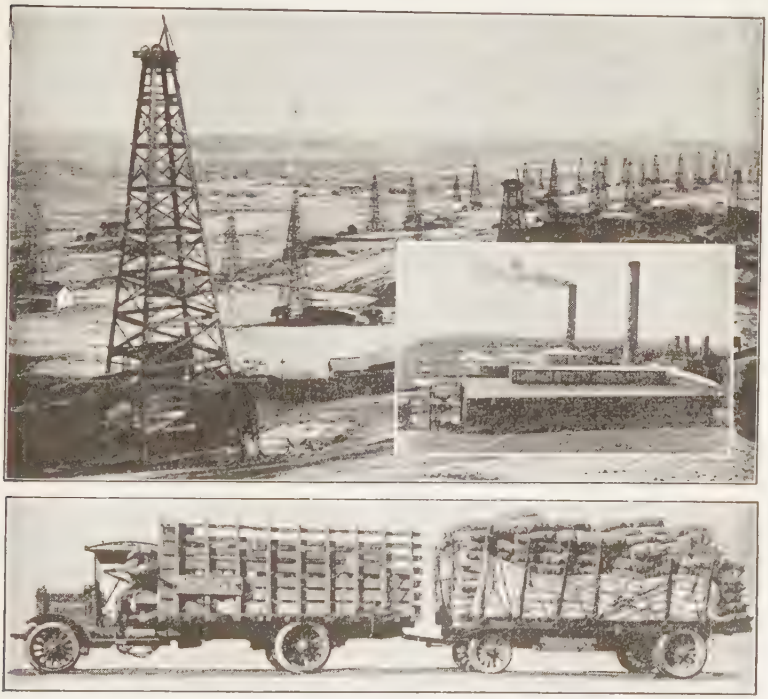
In 1876, when most of the iron came from western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh was the one great iron manufacturing centre of this country. Later, however, after immense iron-mines were discovered in Alabama, the iron industry devel-



oped about Birmingham and built up a large city. Other iron-manufacturing centres have grown up on the shores of the Great Lakes, near which is mined three-fourths of all the iron ore in the United States. It comes for the most part from the mountain ranges of upper Michigan, and its products are shipped mostly from Chicago and Cleveland. These are natural centres for this iron region because they are situated at points where coal and iron ore can be assembled with the least expense, and from which the iron and steel products can be most conveniently shipped to markets.

A cheap fuel is found in natural gas.

Natural gas was not used to any great extent until 1872. It is supplied from deep wells and is carried by means of pipe-lines to the nearest cities, where it may be used as a cheap fuel in factories. These pipe-lines are sometimes two hundred miles long. In

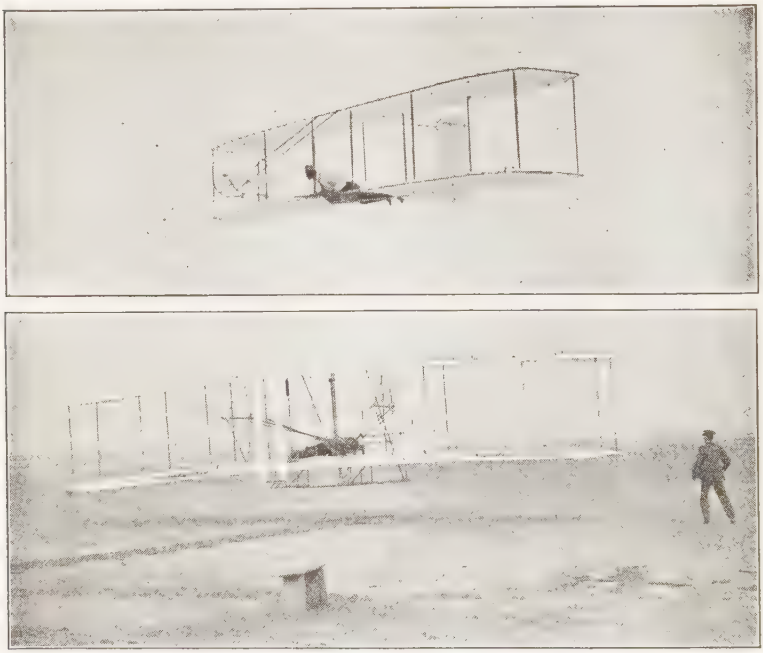


ABOVE, THE OIL-FIELDS OF BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA. RIGHT CENTRE, SINCLAIR OIL REFINERY, EAST CHICAGO. BELOW, MOTOR-TRUCK SERVICE BETWEEN LOS ANGELES AND SAN PEDRO. MOTOR-TRUCKING THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES HAS DEVELOPED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO RIVAL IN A MEASURE TRANSPORTATION BY RAILROAD.

Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Indiana, natural gas had a large share in building up factories, just as it has had recently in Kansas and Oklahoma.

Petroleum, or coal-oil, is also found in wells, and is useful in many ways. It was first discovered in Pennsylvania a short time before the Civil War. One of its products, kerosene, was

extensively used not only as a fuel in shops and factories but as a means of lighting houses and streets. When petroleum was discovered in Ohio, Indiana, and Texas, oil-refining became a



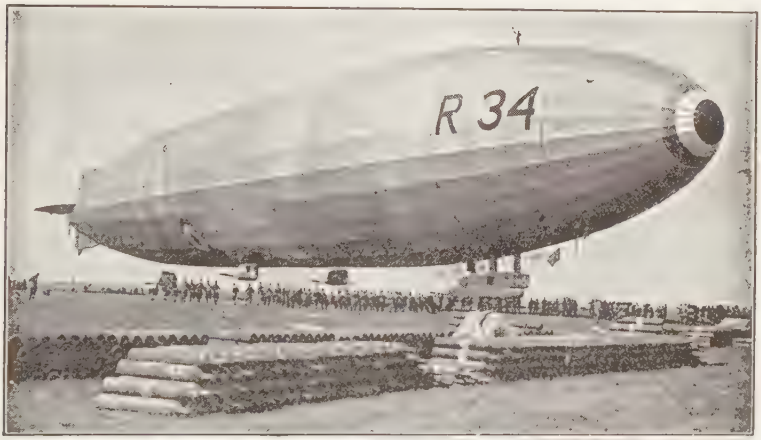
ABOVE, 1902 WRIGHT GLIDER IN FLIGHT. BELOW, THE FIRST FLIGHT BY MAN WITH A MOTOR-DRIVEN HEAVIER-THAN-AIR MACHINE AT KITTY HAWK, NORTH CAROLINA, DECEMBER 17, 1903. ORVILLE WRIGHT IN THE MACHINE, WILBUR RUNNING ALONGSIDE OF IT.

large industry. About sixty different products are obtained from petroleum.

The gas-engine leads to the automobile and the airplane.

One of the most widely used of the petroleum products is gasolene. It has great practical value because it serves as a motive power in the gas-engine, which came into successful operation about 1876. The gas-engine has marked advantages over the steam-engine, because it is simpler in construction and lighter in weight. Supplying, as it does, a cheap motive power, it has become a valuable factor in both

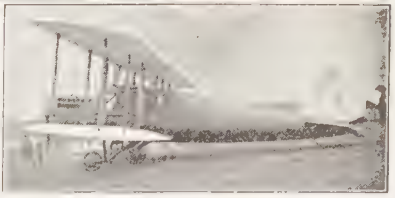
industrial and farm development. About ten years after it first came into use it was applied as a motive power for driving vehicles. This was the beginning of automobiles, which in our day are used in immense numbers, both for business and pleasure. The light weight of the gas-engine greatly aided in the devising



Photograph by the International News Service.

THE BRITISH R 34 AT MINEOLA, L. I., HAVING CROSSED THE ATLANTIC THREE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER THE "MAYFLOWER," IN 1919—LATER SAFELY MAKING THE RETURN VOYAGE.

Note man standing on top of gas container.



Photograph by U. S. Army Air Service.

ONE OF THE LARGE ARMY AIRPLANES.

of perhaps the most wonderful invention of all. This was the airplane, or flying-machine, with which the Wright Brothers, of Dayton, Ohio, surprised the world in 1905. The airplane is now in regular use in carrying mail between large cities, and the indications are that it will be widely employed for the transportation of freight and passengers.

Famous transatlantic air-flights in 1919.

As a forerunner of greater things, a most notable air-flight was accomplished (May, 1919) in the crossing of the Atlantic by seaplane—a machine that not only can fly through

the air but can also move by its own power along the surface of the sea. The route began at Newfoundland and ended at Plymouth, England, with intermediate stopping-points at the Azores and at Lisbon, Portugal. There were three seaplanes, each having four engines, a crew of six men, and a carrying power of more than 25,000 pounds. The flight was a scientific enterprise, conducted by the United States navy. The most careful planning, elaborate precautions, and systematic endeavor, combined with skill, courage, and heroism of the airmen themselves, all contributed to its success. Destroyers, stationed at intervals along the route, guided the fliers by smoke and light signals. Following this ocean flight were others, managed by individual enterprise, which made the passage continuously, without alighting, from shore to shore.

Motion-pictures and phonographs play a significant part in our recreational life.

Recent inventions which are playing a significant part in our recreational life are the motion-picture and the phonograph. By the comparative cheapness of screen presentation, motion-pictures afford recreation that comes within the reach of vast numbers of people. Reliable statistics show that, on an average, one-tenth of the people of the United States go to motion-picture theatres once a week. The better class of pictures not only entertain but educate. They supply information about current events and give correct impressions of life in places and times remote from our own. They show the beauties of nature in many aspects and reveal life as interpreted in fiction and drama. Even in remote country places one may, through motion-pictures, come into touch with the larger life of the world. If

MOVING PICTURE CAMERA MEN OFTEN RISK LIFE IN GETTING NEWS PICTURES. ABOVE, PHOTOGRAPHING SAN FRANCISCO. BELOW, [illegible] WITH GAS MASK, PHOTOGRAPHING AN ACTIVE VOLCANO.

properly selected, they may be made a useful feature of visual education.

What the motion-picture supplies to the eye the phonograph does to the ear. It accurately reproduces the human voice in conversation, and is especially adapted to both vocal and instrumental music, making it possible in one's own home to hear reproduced the best music as sung or played by the great artists.

SPOKANE RIVER POWER PLANT, WASHINGTON.
One of the highest spillway dams in America, 153 feet to crest.

In its various forms it occupies an important place in our American homes. Closely related is the dictaphone, used chiefly in business offices to reproduce the employer's dictation, thus eliminating the need of shorthand notes.

Some of the wonders of electricity.

Other inventions that lessen the grip of time and space have been developed through the application of electricity. One of these, the telephone, perfected by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876, was soon in general use in offices and homes. The telephone is now extensively employed in the rapid transmission of thought, both in business and in social intercourse. Conversation by telephone between San Francisco and New York is now so simple and practicable that it is no longer surprising.

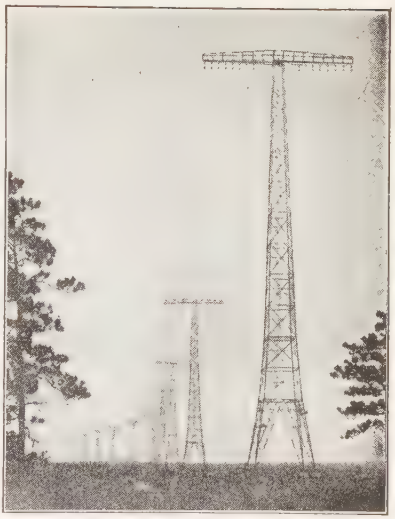
For years inventors had been trying to devise some means of producing electricity cheaply and distributing it widely. The outcome of their efforts was the dynamo, a machine which was invented in 1866, but did not come into common use until 1880. The dynamo is driven by gas or steam engine or by water power, and the electricity which it makes is carried by wire to the town or city[1] where it is to be used. Electricity came into use as a motive power about the same time that it was applied, by the invention of the arc and the incandescent lights, to the lighting of streets and houses. Trolley-cars, electric automobiles, electric locomotives, and electric engines for fixed machinery soon followed. Within ten years, 1885 and 1895, the horse-car was largely replaced by the electric trolley.

The Atlantic and Pacific cables bring the various parts of the civilized world into closer and more sympathetic relations.

Even before the telephone and, indeed, a forerunner of that invention, was the Atlantic cable, which made possible the instant transmission of thought to the most distant parts of the world. After several unsuccessful efforts, the two continents were connected (1858) by a wire cable extending from Newfoundland to Ireland. Two ships, each carrying a section of the cable, met in midocean, and, having spliced the sections, returned, the one toward Newfoundland and the other toward Ireland, laying the cable as they went. The two ships reached land on the same day, and very soon afterward the Queen of England sent to the President of the United States this message: "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth and good-will to men." But unfortunately within a month the cable failed to work, and not until 1866 did ocean-cabling become permanently successful.

[1] Important examples of companies engaged in such transmission of power are the Central Colorado Power Company, the power companies of Niagara Falls, the Southern Power Company, and the Montana Power Company. The first transmits power from Shoshone Falls to Denver, a distance of 180 miles; one of the second group, from Niagara Falls to Syracuse, a distance of about 150 miles; the third to various points, some of which are 150 miles from the place where the power is generated; and the fourth has transmitted power, under emergency conditions, in a circuitous route for a distance of 400 miles. In all these cases the transmitted power may be used for driving fixed machinery, for propelling trolley-cars, and for lighting purposes.

Since that time communication between Europe and America has been continuous, and now many cables cross the north Atlantic. The cable has largely affected commerce, because the market prices in the great trade centres of America and Europe are reported daily, and large business transactions are made in a few hours between American and European houses of business. It has also brought the various parts of the civilized world into closer and more sympathetic relations, because the news of what is going on is so quickly sent across the ocean. Our daily papers report with ease European events a few hours after they have occurred.



By permission of the Radio Corporation.

THE WORLD'S LARGEST RADIO PLANT IN OPERATION AT ROCKY POINT, L. I., SHOWING 12 TOWERS, EACH 410 FEET HIGH, WITH CROSS-ARMS 150 FEET WIDE.

On November 5, 1921, President Harding formally opened this plant by sending a radiogram addressed to the nations of the civilized world.

Ten cables now connect North America with Europe, and in the early years of this century a Pacific cable was opened. It extends from San Francisco to Hongkong, by the way of Honolulu and Manila. On July 4, 1903, President Roosevelt sent the first message, which flashed around the world in four minutes.

Wireless telegraphy, and more recently wireless telephony, come into extensive use.

Another wonderful application of electricity is found in the Marconi system of wireless telegraphy, the successful operation of which was proved in 1896. It then became a possibility without the use of wires to have instant communication between places thousands of miles apart. On January 18, 1903, from the wireless-telegraph station at Wellfleet, on Cape Cod, President Roosevelt sent to King Edward of England the first wireless message across the Atlantic.

By permission of Photoplay Magazine.

MOVING PICTURE CAMERA-MEN PHOTOGRAPHING THE MEMORIAL SERVICES AT THE SARCOPHAGUS AND AMPHITHEATRE IN ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA, DURING THE BURIAL OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER OF THE GREAT WAR, NOVEMBER 11, 1921, AT WHICH TIME PRESIDENT HARDING DELIVERED AN ORATION.

The application of the wireless system enables vessels and airplanes to keep in constant communication with ports, bases, and other craft. Thrilling rescues of passengers from vessels in distress at sea have thus often been made. Many other uses are continually being developed. The wireless telephone is one. In 1919 a wireless engineer in Ireland talked across the

AMPLIFIERS USED ON THE ROOF OF MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY, IN REPRODUCING OVER LONG-DISTANCE TELEPHONE WIRES PRESIDENT HARDING'S ADDRESS AT ARLINGTON.

Crowds covering the streets and pathways in the vicinity listening to President Harding's address simultaneously with its delivery at Arlington.

Atlantic to an operator in Newfoundland and was clearly understood. No one would be rash enough to predict the extent of the possibilities that lie in the power to bridge space with no other connection than the air. The application of wireless to entertainment, the distribution of news, and the transfer of thought of whatever kind, is only beginning to be appreciated.

An age of wonderful inventions.

When we think of all these marvellous inventions we can almost imagine ourselves to be living and working in a world of magic. Certainly it is a far different world from that of our grandfathers, and it has brought with it new problems and conditions of living such as the American people knew nothing about forty or fifty years ago. Man can do more, not only because he can multiply his power many fold by the use of improved machinery, but also because he has larger material resources, which supply the means of living a larger life than that of his forefathers. Truly we must believe ourselves in the midst of a wonderful century when we stop to consider how profoundly our lives have been modified by the inventions of the last few decades.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Explain the meaning of the great changes in agriculture and the cause of these changes. Show specifically how new methods have affected a change in life on the farm.
2. What has been the effect of the automobile on rural life and upon city life? What are advantages of life in the city and of life in the country?
3. How has the invention of the gas-engine been helpful to the inventor of the flying-machine?
4. Of all the recent inventions, which one in your judgment is the most useful? What is the most useful electrical invention? Write out your reasons as carefully as you can.
5. Interpret the following facts: Number of patents registered in 1790, 3; 1820, 117; 1840, 473; 1860, 4,819; 1890, 26,292; 1910, 35,168. In the light of these figures, what are our prospects for progress in the future?
6. If you wish to know about Edison's remarkable career, read Meadowcroft's "The Boy's Life of Edison."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND PUPIL: Fournier, *Wonders of Physical Science;* Burns, *The Story of Inventions;* Meadowcroft, *The Boy's Life of Edison;* Mowry, *American Inventions and Inventors;* Rocheleau, *Great American Industries;* Bogart, *Economic History of the United States,* 238–250, 266–284.

CHAPTER XVIII

OUR GOVERNMENT ADOPTS NEW POLICIES OF ASSISTANCE, REGULATION, AND CONTROL (1902–1914)

Quite as significant as the changes brought about by science and invention was the introduction of policies of government assistance to industry. These policies were begun early in the present century, under the leadership of Roosevelt, and are certain to have far-reaching effects in aiding material production and increasing the comforts of life. Their immediate effect was especially marked in the West.

Irrigation is applied to the arid and semi-arid regions of the West.

With the extension of means of transporting men and goods, the rapidly increasing population in the United States again turned to those parts of the West that were still unsettled. The Homestead Law greatly furthered the movement. Under this law nearly all the fertile lands of the West, in the regions where there was enough rain to make farming profitable, were taken up by settlers. But there was a vast stretch of territory in which the rainfall was too light to make the land of any use except for grazing. This arid and semi-arid region, extending westward from the 100th meridian, included all of Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and other states and parts of states.

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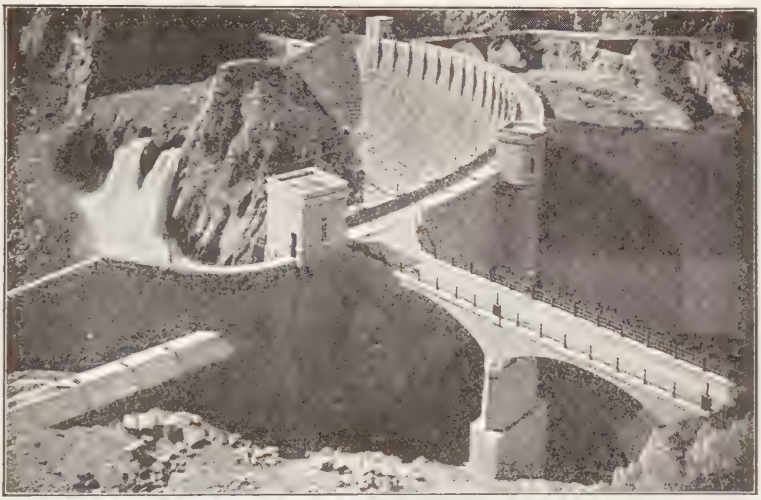
HARVESTING ALFALFA HAY, SALT RIVER VALLEY, ARIZONA.

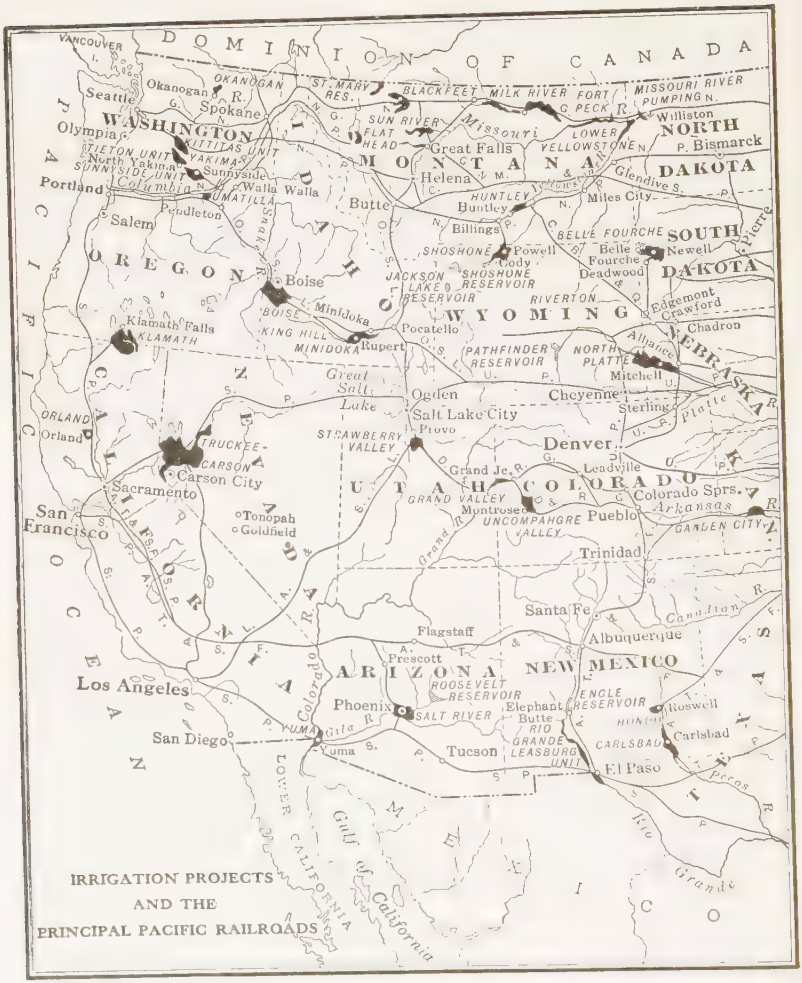


© *Ewing Galloway.*

ROOSEVELT DAM, SALT RIVER VALLEY, ARIZONA.

AT RIGHT, A BIT OF RICH AGRICULTURAL AREA RECLAIMED FROM THE DESERT BY WATER FROM THE ROOSEVELT DAM.

The Mormons, you remember, were the first to recover the desert wastes of this arid region and to make them into rich fields. When the Mormons learned that moisture would make the soil productive, they diverted the water from mountain streams by means of dams and flumes into ditches, which distributed it to the various ranches in the valley. However, many of the streams in those dry regions are either small or cease to run at all in summer because they are fed mainly by melting snows. If the mountains are not very high or extended, it often happens that the snow all melts in the early springtime when the water is least needed by the farmers



living in the valleys below. In such regions reservoirs have been formed by the construction of dams, which hold back immense volumes of water coming from the melting snow until it is needed. Then it is conducted by huge pipes, flumes, and canals for many miles along the mountainsides to the farms or ranches far below, where it is needed for the growing crops.

Many of the lakes far back in the mountains are a source of water supply; and in some regions artesian wells are widely used.

The Reclamation Service of the national government aids in making the arid lands productive.

This artificial method of watering, or irrigation, came to be recognized as so necessary a part of agriculture in the West that some of the state governments took up the problem of promoting and improving it, and in 1902 the national government lent its aid by investing large sums in the construction of irrigation systems too extensive to come within the control of any one state. According to the plan adopted by the United States, land was to be sold in small lots to settlers, who were to be allowed a number of years to pay for it. These payments were then to be applied by the government to defray the cost of the systems.

Before 1902 there were only about three million acres under irrigation. Since then about ten million acres have been reclaimed by irrigation. This great increase has been due very largely to such United States Government projects as the Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River in Arizona; the Engle Dam on the Rio Grande River in New Mexico; the Arrow Rock Dam and Twin Falls Project in Idaho; the Huntley, Milk River, and Sun River projects in Montana; the Truckee-Carson Project in Nevada; and the Shoshone Dam in Wyoming. Another remarkable engineering feat was the construction of the Gunnison Project in Colorado, where the whole course of a river was changed to run by a tunnel through a mountain range on to thousands of acres of sage-brush land in the Uncompahgre Valley. The regions reclaimed by these projects now constitute some of the most beautiful and productive farming districts in the United States.

Summer fallowing is also employed where rainfall is light.

The importance of irrigation will be better appreciated when we remember that about one-third of the land of our whole country has a light rainfall, and, therefore, will not yield large crops unless the soil is watered by artificial methods. Yet, even at its greatest possible development, irrigation could not entirely solve the problem, for

it has been estimated that the natural water-supply is not sufficient to irrigate more than one-tenth of the vast arid and semi-arid region. "Dry farming" and "summer fallowing" are therefore extensively used in the West, and very good crops of grain are harvested by the farmer, who raises a crop on but half of his land each year. The other half during the year is plowed and then, after each rain, is harrowed to keep a mulch of fine soil particles on the surface. This treatment prevents rapid evaporation of the moisture underneath. Great areas in the West that have only ten to fifteen inches of rainfall annually are thus made productive because the rainfall from the year before is held over in the soil for the coming crop. The Palouse wheat belt in eastern Washington and northern Idaho, and the Judeth Basin in Montana, are two leading wheat sections in the United States using this method very generally and with highly productive results. Total failure would usually result if an attempt were made to raise a crop every year.

Importance of forest preservation results in a system of forest protection.

Another government enterprise which bears a close relation to the water-supply is the preservation of forests on the mountainsides. The earth in forest lands is porous, and absorbs the water which falls, allowing it to soak in gently and drain off slowly. The tree roots also keep the earth firm. When there are no trees on the mountainside, the water rushes in torrents down the steep slopes and in its course washes away the soil into the rivers. Then, too, the spring floods which come from treeless hills and mountains are a menace to life and property alike. Of this we have frequent proof in the floods along the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers.

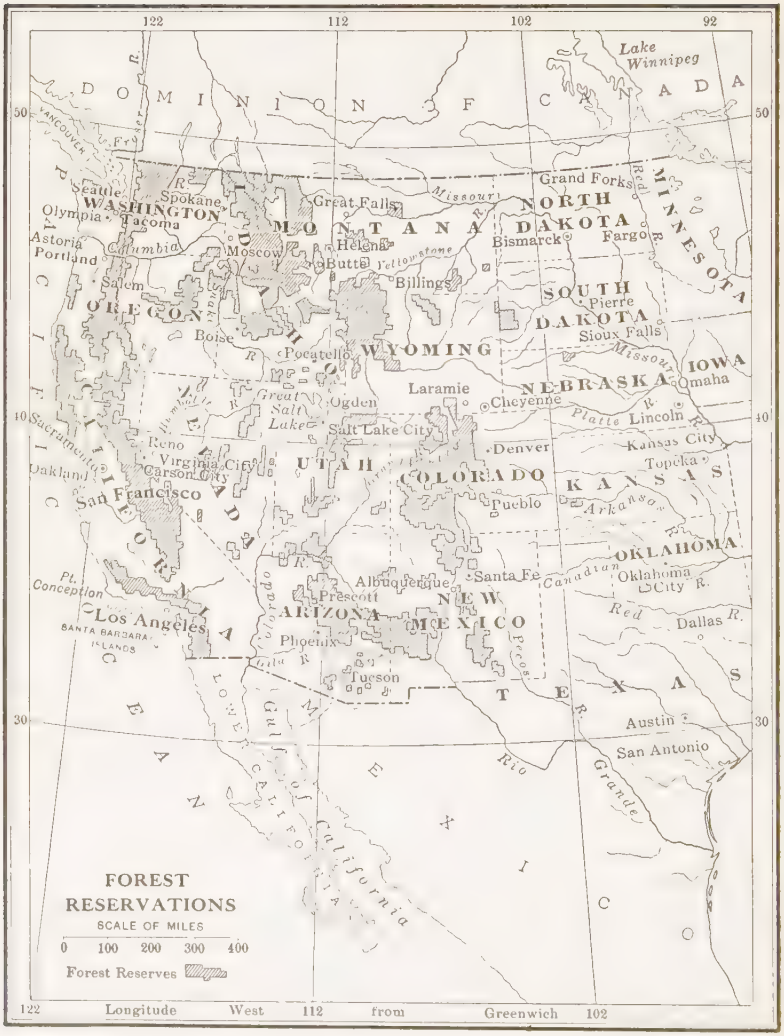
Forest preservation is a matter of so much importance that our national government began in 1891 an extensive system of caring for the forests. Since that time many millions of acres of public lands have been set off as forest reservations and put under the care of foresters who have had expert training in the protection of trees. These reservations are so laid out as to protect the sources of many of our most important rivers.

When the government sells timber, as it does every year, forestry service men decide what trees shall be cut and superintend the planting of young trees in districts depleted by cutting or by fire. Throughout the areas of forest reservations, roads and pathways have been made and telephone-wires set up. The mounted forest rangers use these in their constant watching while on patrol duty for fire, and thus find it easy to report any fire that may break out and also to get together at the point of danger. In this way the destructiveness of fires in recent years has been greatly reduced. The rangers also are on the lookout for timber thieves, who in former years did much stealing from the forests owned by the government.

The important movement to conserve our natural resources has made splendid progress.

Irrigation and forest preservation are a part of the great movement to save or improve our natural resources which began in this country about 1900. Before that time the government had been selling the public lands very cheaply, even though they were covered by timber, or might hold under their surface coal, oil, gold, or silver, or other resources of special value, or might include valuable water-power. After inventors found out how to convert water-power into electricity for lighting purposes, for propelling trolley-cars, and for driving fixed machinery in factories, lands containing waterfalls and rapids were eagerly sought by investors.

Some thoughtful men began to urge that public lands of such special value should not be allowed to fall into the hands of private owners to swell their individual wealth, but should be kept under the control of the government for the benefit of the people as a whole. To aid the conservation movement, in 1908 President Roosevelt called a meeting at the White House of the governors of all the states to consider the conservation of our natural resources, such as forests, water, soil, fuel, and minerals. This was the first meeting of the governors of the various states, which now has become an annual custom. These meetings have done much to strengthen sentiment in favor of preserving our natural resources. For example, in 1910 Congress voted that after that date the government should continue to



own the coal, oil, and gas lying beneath the surface of any public lands that might be sold; and since 1916, except by lease for a term not to exceed fifty years, it has refused to turn over to private owners any public lands having waterfalls or rapids that might be utilized for the development of electric power.

President Roosevelt champions policies of government control in the interests of the people.

Associated with these policies of government assistance are certain policies of government regulation and control which came into operation at about the same time. Advantages of national control result not only from the fact that the projects to be dealt with are too large for individual or even state management, but also because national control tends to release the problems from undue personal or sectional influence.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT.[1]

In the early part of the present century attention was directed forcibly to the dishonesty in business and politics existent throughout the country. For years capitalistic combinations, made up of men of great wealth, had often been found working hand in hand with political rings to defraud the people. Lobbyists were hired by such combinations to secure, by the corrupt use of money, the passage of laws granting special privileges to the favored few who were strong enough to buy legislation. It was commonly known that through the use of bribery valuable

[1] Theodore Roosevelt, twenty-sixth President of the United States (1901–1909), was born in New York City, October 27, 1858. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1882, and two years afterward was elected a member of the New York legislature. In later years he rendered valuable service as a member of the National Civil Service Commission, as president of the New York Police Board, and as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in order to help organize the first United States Cavalry Volunteers (popularly known as the "Roosevelt Rough Riders"), a regiment that distinguished itself in the Cuban campaign. For gallantry on the battle-field, Roosevelt was promoted to the rank of colonel. The year after the war he was elected governor of New York, and in 1900 Vice-President of the United States. On McKinley's death September 14, 1901, he became President, taking the oath of office in Buffalo in the presence of several members of the McKinley cabinet. He was elected President in 1904. In the midst of his busy public life he also wrote many books, most of them in the field of history or biography. In all his work he labored with earnestness, vigor, and sincerity of purpose.

franchises were bought for much less than their actual worth, and thus the public was defrauded.

Corruption was found not only in the governments of states and cities, but also in some of the departments of our national government at Washington. President Roosevelt, desiring to put an end to the immoral alliance between crooked business and crooked politics, set going, early in his first term, a searching investigation of the corrupt conditions then prevailing in the Post-Office Department. Several officials were found guilty and sentenced to prison for a term of years. A similar investigation was made of a Western land ring, which was using illegal methods to get control of extensive areas of public land. In this instance, also, several public officials, holding positions of great importance and influence, were convicted and sent to prison. Some of the most powerful life-insurance companies, also, upon being subjected to investigation, were found guilty of defrauding the policyholders by the misuse of enormous funds placed in their care for the benefit of the insured. These and other sensational exposures, beginning about 1903, brought a great shock to the public mind. They made evident the need of effectively regulating and controlling all large combinations of capital in the interests of the public welfare. To understand how economic influences had brought about conditions which were so grossly unjust as to make drastic action on the part of the government necessary, we must briefly trace the development of the colossal business combinations and railroad systems during the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century.

Industry grows remarkably after the Civil War.

We have already noticed the growth of industry after the Civil War. During the last two decades of the century business increased enormously. Industries became so gigantic that individual capitalists could not supply the necessary capital. Therefore, money for building factories and plants, equipping them with costly machinery, and financing their business operations was procured by a new method—the formation of stock companies. The public was invited to buy shares of the stock. The standard value of the shares was one hundred dollars, although it might be more or less. The stock

was usually divided into common and preferred. Each share of common stock was entitled to one vote, while the preferred stock was without voting power but was guaranteed a fixed dividend before any was paid on the common stock. The control of the company rested in the hands of a few stockholders, who, in combining, allotted to themselves and owned a majority of the common stock. They elected themselves or their representatives as directors, though often they had invested little of their own money in the enterprise. Those who had bought and paid money for their stock were, in reality, the ones who made possible the enlarged business.

Big trusts naturally grow out of the great extension of business; they have advantages and disadvantages.

With the extension of business, competition became intense, and rival companies, believing that union was better than strife, combined into larger companies, or corporations. A corporation formed by the union of several companies was called a trust. A typical example of trusts is the Standard Oil Company, organized in 1882 and controlling the output of petroleum, in the production and export of which the United States leads the world. Later there were organized the sugar trust, the tobacco trust, the meat-packing trusts, the United States Steel Corporation, and many others. In fact, before the end of the last century many of the leading business interests in the country were represented by some great trust.

The advantages which trusts had over the small rival independent companies were many. They could own or control the country's supply of raw material, which they used, and thus not only secure it at a lower price but be certain of having it on hand when needed. This is well illustrated by the United States Steel Corporation. The company has its own iron-mines in the mountain ranges near the head of Lake Superior and its own coal-mines near Pittsburgh. The trusts profited also by getting lower freight rates for their raw material and finished goods than were granted by the railroads to their small competitors. They could, therefore, sell at a lower price than any rival, and in this way they often drove their competitors out of business.

It is easy to see, then, how trusts could accomplish their main purposes, which were, in the first place, to cheapen the cost of production, and in the second to lessen and, so far as possible, to prevent, competition. If they had always given the consumer the benefit of these advantages by lowering the price of trust-made goods, there might have been general satisfaction. But the people believed they did not share to any large extent in the benefits arising from these new business methods. The prices of trust-made goods, which often included the necessaries of life, were sometimes unreasonably high. As a matter of fact, the trusts, after driving small rivals out of business, were able to control the market and fix the price on their finished goods. It was also possible for the trust, after having stifled competition, to sell goods at its own price, on its own terms.

The purpose of the Sherman Anti-trust Law is to regulate the trusts.

Accordingly, the Sherman Anti-trust Law was passed by Congress in 1890. This law declared in effect that all combinations made for the purpose of controlling the output and sale of goods and of fixing prices were unlawful and were liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment. This meant that the trusts were to be regulated by law, so that they would not be able by unfair methods to get control of the markets and thus, in consequence, compel the people to pay an unreasonable price for the necessaries of life.

The Federal Trade Commission is appointed.

But the Sherman Anti-trust Law did not solve the trust problem. To supplement this law, therefore, the Federal Trade Commission Bill was passed by Congress (1914). It authorized the appointment of the Federal Trade Commission to regulate and control corporations or trusts holding property in more than one state. Its threefold powers were as follows: (1) To investigate corporations doing an interstate business in order to determine whether they were obeying the laws; (2) to forbid and prevent unfair methods of competition; and (3) to aid the attorney-general and the United States courts in enforcing the anti-trust laws. The Clayton Act (1914) was a supplementary law intended to curb still further the trusts by checking their power to produce monopoly.

The methods of the railroads in competing for business develop the sentiment for regulation; hence the Interstate Commerce Commission is formed.

Another mammoth corporation which had to be regulated by government was the railroad. After the close of the Civil War, railroad lines were rapidly extended so as to connect the mining and farming regions with cities and factories. And as in business the tendency was to unite the smaller units into large ones, so in the course of years most of the important railroads in the country were combined into a few gigantic systems, with the lines of each system passing through several states. The great railroad companies forming these systems, in their eagerness to secure business, made certain secret and special rates with some large firms that operated unfairly toward other shippers. For example, for years the Standard Oil Company was granted lower freight rates than its rivals could get. Lower rates, of course, enabled the favored shipper, if he wished, to sell his goods at a lower price than his less fortunate competitors, and the result was, in many instances, that rival companies were forced out of business.

It was in no unselfish spirit that the railroads granted these favors. They were competing for business. When there were two or more companies operating lines between two distant points, a war of rates often resulted in putting passenger and freight rates below cost. To compensate for such loss, the railroad sometimes charged unreasonable and even exorbitant rates between points where there was no rival and competing line.

Such methods, so unjust both to the shipper and to the public, could not be allowed to continue. At first the states appointed commissions to fix maximum rates and in other ways regulate railway traffic. But they could not solve the complex problem, partly because their power extended over only that part of the traffic which was wholly within the state. And since much more than half of all railway traffic is between states, any action that state legislatures might take would be ineffective.

Therefore, in 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, the purpose of which was to regulate trade between the states. This law declares that freight and passenger rates on railroads running from one state into another shall be just and

reasonable, and shall be uniform, for like service, to all. The Interstate Commerce Commission was appointed to see that the law was carried out.

Its powers are increased in 1906.

As the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission under this law were not large enough, a supplementary rate law was passed (1906). It forbids the granting of free passes and declares that if any shipper complains of a rate as unjust and unreasonable the Interstate Commerce Commission shall have power to fix a new rate. A law was passed during President Taft's administration,[1] giving the Commission power to suspend for a time a new rate or any rate in order to find out by investigation whether or not it is just and reasonable. The law provided for a Commerce Court to enforce the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission, but the regular courts now act on such cases.[2]

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

The postal savings-bank develops habits of thrift.

To conserve public wealth postal savings-banks were established in 1910. Their immediate purpose was to develop habits of thrift among the people of small means. It was thought that those who could save a little from

[1] William Howard Taft, twenty-seventh President of the United States (1909–1913), was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857. He was graduated from Yale University in 1878, and two years later began the practice of law in his native state. In 1892 he was made judge of the United States District Court. In 1900 he was appointed president of the United States Philippine Commission, and in 1901 became the first civil governor of the Philippine Islands. He filled this important position with great credit to himself and to his country. He became secretary of war in President Roosevelt's cabinet in 1904, and continued in this office until 1908. In the autumn of that year he was elected President of the United States. For this position of responsibility his long experience in the public service seemed especially to have fitted him. In 1921 he was appointed by President Harding Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

[2] The rate law of 1910 applies not only to railroads but to telegraph, telephone, and cable companies, and also to express companies and sleeping-car companies.

their earnings would be encouraged to put their savings into these banks; for being under the control of the United States Government, they are safe as long as the government stands. Any person of ten years or over can open an account with a postal savings-bank by depositing as little as one dollar. All deposits pay 2 per cent interest.

UNITED STATES MAIL RURAL MOTOR-TRUCK SERVICE.

The Currency and Banking Law provides for the Federal Reserve System.

To better distribute the financial resources of the country and to establish a more mobile credit and currency, the Currency and Banking Law was passed (1913). It provides for a Federal Reserve System. By this law all the banks in the system are associated to give one another financial aid, just as the forty-eight states of our federal Union are united for government aid. The object of the law is threefold: (1) To make the monetary system of the country more simple and uniform; (2) to provide a plan by which there shall always be enough money to meet any special need; and (3) to make it easy for this money to be obtained in that part of the country where the need is most urgent. The Currency and Banking Law was a forward step which was taken by the government in advancing the material welfare of the people as a whole.

Rural roads and rural free-delivery have an important bearing on the life of the people.

More far-reaching still in its influence upon the life of all the people has been the rural-roads legislation through which the national government makes a liberal appropriation to aid the states in the construction of roads. Better highways bring the farmer into closer touch with city markets, and, together with trolley and suburban trains, make possible country homes for many whose vocations take them to the city, thus relieving the crowded conditions of city life.

ASSORTING PARCEL-POST MAIL IN A U. S. POST-OFFICE.

The rural-roads legislation was an outgrowth of the movement for good roads, which became strong in the first decade of this century. Many states have spent huge sums in the construction of excellent state roads, and these are not only of great advantage to the owners of automobiles and trucks, but in the course of years they save much more than they cost by making it possible to transport larger and therefore fewer loads than could be carried over the poor country roads that were so common even down to the last part of the nineteenth century.

Rural free-delivery, also, which takes mail to the farmer's door and is now widely extended in every state in the Union, is a great boon to people who live at a distance from cities, towns, and villages. It does much to bring the farmers and other people living in rural sections into intimate and vital touch with national thought and feeling.

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DISTRIBUTING MAIL IN A RAILWAY MAIL-CAR.

The parcel-post affords a more extended means of transportation and delivery.

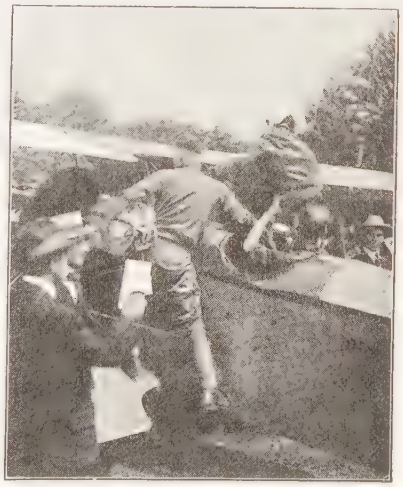
Another federal law, which directly affected the people in every part of the land, was the Parcel-Post Law. This brought about a marked change in the field of transportation. Before the parcel post came into existence, parcels and goods that needed to be moved quickly were handled by express companies only.

But as express companies depended upon the railroads as carriers, they served only those whom the railroads served.

By means of the parcel-post the United States mail service can carry on a postal-express business reaching any locality that is included in our rural free-delivery system, even though it may be far from a railroad-station. Moreover, the United States parcel-post carries packages and other goods within certain limits of size and weight for much less than the express companies used to charge. The public has been quick to adopt this cheap means of delivery, and the service has increased with marvellous rapidity.

The people adopt reforms to secure larger control over public affairs.

Among the recent events marking progressive tendencies in democratic government have been certain movements leading, it is hoped, to larger control over public affairs by the people. One of these is the use of primary elections in selecting delegates to the national conventions which nominate candidates for the presidency. It was believed that by this method the people could have more control in selecting officials to carry out their will. The primaries take the place of caucuses, in which party managers largely, and in many cases entirely, controlled the selection of delegates.



AIRPLANE MAIL SERVICE.
Putting the mail-bags aboard for the start.

Another movement in the same direction is the short ballot. Its purpose is to secure better equipped officials. This reform is of especial value in large cities, which are really gigantic business corporations, taxing the people millions of dollars to carry on the various departments—school, park, street, fire, police, and others. To be suc-

cessful the city government should be well organized and well managed. Up to recent years this had been growing more difficult. Administration has been too complicated and clumsy to get the best results with the least expense. Consequently there has been much corruption and much waste of public funds.

The commission form of government centres responsibility in a small group of men.

To remedy this defect many cities have adopted the experiment of a commission form of government, by which all the legislative and executive functions of the city are placed in the hands of a small group of men, usually five in number, called a commission, elected by the people. As the number of officials is small, it is possible to hold each responsible for the service he renders. The ballot being short, it is easier to find out what sort of candidates are up for election, and this is of great advantage over the long ballot, which in some cities contains the names of scores of candidates, of whom the voter knows very little or nothing. The commission form of government is now in use in hundreds of cities in the United States. The principle of the short ballot has also been carried out in the executive department of state government by making only a few important officials elective and empowering them to appoint their subordinates.

The initiative and referendum and the recall give voters far-reaching powers.

Other plans designed to give the people direct control of their affairs are the initiative and referendum now on trial by a number of states. By means of the initiative a certain fraction of the voters may propose a statute which the state legislature must consider. If it refuses to adopt the measure, this must be submitted to the voters of the state to approve or reject at a regular election. By means of the referendum a certain fraction of the people may demand that any law passed by the state legislature be submitted to the voters at an election to approve or reject as they see fit. Another plan, intended to make it easier for the people to punish an official for wrong-doing or for unsatisfactory public service, is the recall. By means of this plan a certain fraction of voters may demand an election in which the people

shall decide whether or not the official in question shall give up his office before the end of the period for which he was elected.

The Seventeenth Amendment requires United States senators to be elected by the people.

The movement in favor of popular control of public affairs became so wide-spread that in 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, requiring United States senators to be elected by the people. The former method of election by the state legislature had not been satisfactory, for two reasons: (1) because there were many cases where improper influences were used with legislators to secure votes for candidates, and (2) because it sometimes happened that a legislature would be deadlocked for weeks and even months before an election took place. The feeling was wide-spread that in this way much valuable time was wasted.

The Eighteenth Amendment provides for prohibition throughout the Union.

All these reforms in city and state government are but a prelude to two national reforms brought about by constitutional amendments. We have already noted (page 275) the origin and spread of the temperance movement. Many organizations kept up the agitation in favor of temperance reform. Maine was the first state to pass a law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquor when used as a beverage, and thus became the first prohibition state.

By 1872 temperance reform had become so wide-spread that a national Prohibition party was organized, with the specific purpose of influencing Congress to put an end to the liquor traffic throughout the country. During succeeding years prohibition spread rapidly in the West and in the South. In 1911 the Webb-Kenyon Law, forbidding the shipment of intoxicating liquor into prohibition states, was passed over the veto of President Taft, who considered it unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, however, decided in its favor, and this decision greatly stimulated the prohibition movement. In 1916 Congress established prohibition in the District of Columbia, and in 1917 proposed an amendment to the Constitution providing for prohibition

throughout the Union. This amendment, having been ratified by the legislatures in three-fourths of the several states early in 1919, became a part of the Constitution. It is the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Nineteenth Amendment grants full suffrage to women in all the states.

In harmony with the movement for larger popular control over public affairs, the Nineteenth Amendment, granting full and equal suffrage to women, was made a part of the Constitution. The advance in public education during the past forty or fifty years has included in its scope the higher education of women, who now have the same scholastic advantages as men. They have entered many fields of activity once exclusively occupied by men, and in increasing numbers have become active in various kinds of social service, such as the social settlement, Red Cross, Americanization, and other organizations for civic betterment. Since 1870 many women have become dentists, lawyers, artists, physicians, and have entered other professions; some have become presidents of women's colleges and superintendents of city and state systems of public education, and others have been elected as members of state and national legislatures.

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RAISING THE WOMEN'S PARTY BANNER AT HEADQUARTERS, ON NEWS OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

These changes have come about, however, not only because of the broader general training of women, but partly on account of the transfer of many household duties to the mill and the factory, thus releasing energy for the more public enterprises. The activity of women in

many forms of public service has fostered a finer public spirit and a better civic life. They are assuming an equal part with men in sustaining our country as a mighty industrial, intellectual, and moral force among the nations of the world.

Their active participation in public life resulted, after years of patient and persistent effort, in their receiving the same voting privileges as men. Wyoming was the first state to vote full suf-

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

Miss Susan B. Anthony.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

THREE PROMINENT LEADERS OF THE WOMAN-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

Miss Anthony was one of the first of the organizers. Dr. Shaw left the ministry to devote her time to lecturing in its interest; she has held various offices. Mrs. Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was a leader in the campaign to secure its adoption.

frage to women. By degrees the movement became so widespread that Congress proposed an amendment to the Constitution providing for full suffrage for women in all the states of the Union. This amendment, the Nineteenth, having been ratified by the required number of state legislatures in the summer of 1920, became a part of the Constitution, and in the national elections of the following autumn the women of the whole nation for the first time participated.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. The great problem of our century seems to be how to protect the people from exploitation and how to prevent the growth of special privilege without destroying the corner-stone of American government, i. e., life,

liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the right to acquire, possess, and protect property. (See Declaration of Independence and Constitution.)

2. Outline on your map the arid region and indicate irrigation regions. Give reasons why irrigation is needed in each case to grow crops.
3. Show how the people over the country will derive advantage from conservation of our natural resources. Explain the methods used in forest preservation. Why should we all be interested in these subjects?
4. Our government has established postal savings-banks, the parcel-post, rural roads, and rural free delivery. Why has this been done? How are the people benefited by these agencies? Are there other agencies the government might establish for us?
5. You see in these national policies evidences of the development of full nationality. People do not question, in the manner they once did, anything that the federal government does under the general welfare clause of the Constitution. Imagine what each of the following men would have thought of such policies in their day: Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Marshall, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster.
6. Explain why government regulation of trusts and railroads was necessary in the interests of the people.
7. Note carefully the various reforms for securing larger control over public affairs by the people that have been obtained during the last two decades, and explain in each case why the reform was desired. Do you know of any instances where these reforms have failed to accomplish what was expected? Was the failure caused by a lack of intelligent interest on the part of the people?
8. Give reasons for granting full suffrage to women by constitutional amendment. Discuss this amendment in connection with the extension of the voting privilege at other times in our history. Why was this amendment so long delayed?
9. Remember ours is a representative democracy. If we have evidence of poor government in city, state, or nation, is it a reflection upon our intelligence? Does it indicate our failure to choose competent leaders to represent us in making laws and in transacting public business?
10. Name at least six American women who have rendered their country distinguished service.
11. For a discussion of the woman-suffrage movement read Hecker's "Woman's Rights."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, chaps. XVI, XVII; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, chaps. XVI, XVII; Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States;* Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 731–740; Teele, *Irrigation in the United States;* Fish, *The Development of American Nationality;* Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 683–705; Beard, *Contemporary American History;* Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt;* Hecker, *Woman's Rights;* contemporary magazines.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY TRIUMPH OVER THE FORCES OF AUTOCRACY IN A WORLD WAR (1914–1918)

A. The United States Proclaims Neutrality

From an intimate consideration of national affairs we turn now to a world event involving the interests of all civilized nations —the World War. For years war clouds had been gathering in Europe, and every large nation on the continent was in a sense an armed camp. Peace was maintained only through the "balance of power," by which two groups of European nations, about evenly matched, suspiciously watched every move on the part of any power that might increase its influence or territory and thus disturb the conditions affecting that balance. More momentous, therefore, than the casual observer could have imagined was the breaking out of the World War on July 28, 1914. On that day Austria declared war upon Serbia.

Archduke Ferdinand is assassinated. The reason given to the world by Austria for taking this drastic step was the assassination, on June 28, 1914, of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, crown prince of the Austrian imperial throne, and his wife. They were murdered by a Jugo-Slav in the little city of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. This assassination was the incident that precipitated the war. It was only an episode in the long-standing struggle of the Slavic peoples of the Balkans, backed by Russia, to obstruct the extension of German and Austrian ambitions towards Constantinople and the East. Serbia in particular had objected to Austria's annexation of territory in that direction. Consequently, the military leaders of both Germany and Austria strongly advocated the crushing of Serbia as a necessary step in carrying out their plans for control of Central Europe.

Austria sends to Serbia a humiliating ultimatum. Accordingly, on July 23, a little more than three weeks after the assassination of the crown prince, Austria sent to Serbia a diplomatic note in the form of an ultimatum, compromising not only her national honor but her very exist-

ence as an independent state. She was granted but forty-eight hours in which to choose between complete submission and war. For some years Serbia had been a protégé of Russia, the great Slavic power to which this smaller Slavic state looked for backing and protection. Humiliating as were the terms of the ultimatum, the prospect of war with the powerful German military organization was so dreadful that even Russia advised Serbia to submit. For if Serbia stood out and the war came, Russia must take her side, and she was in poor condition to undertake war. She tried to avert the crisis; and Serbia, too weak to fight alone, accepted all the terms save the two that took away her sovereignty as a state. Even these she agreed to submit to the Hague Tribunal or to the great powers of Europe.

The World War begins.

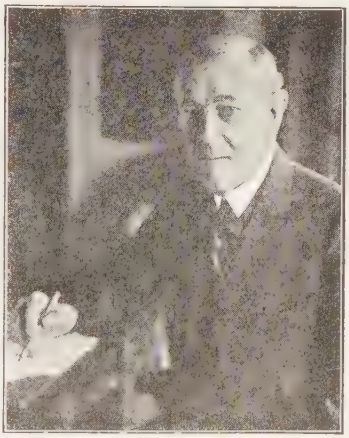
Austria, however, was unwilling to submit the matter to diplomacy. Since Germany had approved the ultimatum, Austria felt secure in invading Serbia. War was immediately declared, and within ten days seven nations had joined the great conflict—Austria and Germany on one side, Serbia, Russia, France, Belgium, and England on the other. The first group was called the Central Powers, the second the Allied Powers.

Germany's invasion of Belgium is met with heroic resistance.

Shortly after the World War broke out in the summer of 1914, President Wilson[1] issued a proclamation in which he advised all American citizens to "act and speak in the true spirit of impartiality and friendliness to all concerned." He took this position because the United States had always tried to avoid taking part in

[1] Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth President of the United States (1913–1921), was born at Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856. He was graduated from Princeton University in 1879, and took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Johns Hopkins University in 1886. He practised law for two years, and then became professor of history and political economy at Bryn Mawr and later at Wesleyan University. In 1890 he was appointed professor of jurisprudence and politics at Princeton University, of which in 1902 he was made president. In 1910 he was elected governor of New Jersey, and in 1912 President of the United States. He is the author of a number of books having to do mainly with biography, history, and politics. In all his public work he has shown marked ability and independence as a thinker and administrator.

quarrels arising between European countries. But the course of events soon brought about a change in the attitude of the American people. For Germany, in order to find an easier and shorter route to Paris, broke the treaty by which she promised to observe the neutrality of Belgium, and invaded that country, devastating its fields, confiscating its treasures, and slaying many innocent non-combatants.



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WOODROW WILSON.
In the White House, March, 1918.

The invasion of Belgium aroused the English people for two reasons: (1) Germany had violated a treaty to which England was also a party. (2) By getting control of strong naval bases on the Belgian coast Germany would occupy a position from which she could easily launch an attack upon shipping in the North Sea and against the great seaports on the south coast of England. The breaking of this treaty, then, and her own self-defense were compelling causes which led England to declare war against Germany.

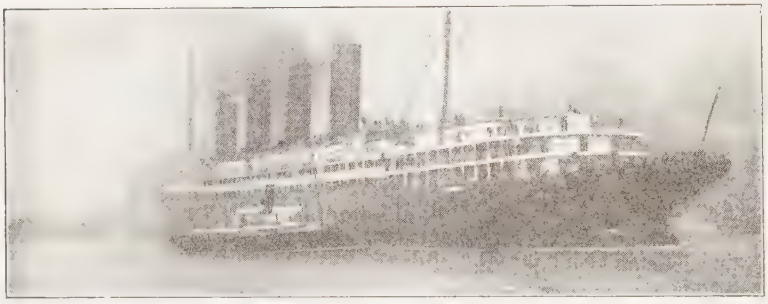
Events one after another awakened Americans to the character of the evil spirit which controlled Germany's policy, and gradually the conviction grew among many that in spite of our strong desire to keep out of the war, the arrogant methods of German military rulers demanded that we should take up arms in aid of the Allies. Several incidents led to this decision; the one which produced the greatest shock and horror was the sinking of an ocean steamship, the *Lusitania*.

The United States is forced into a serious international complication.

The war had put a political strain on all the neutral nations who wished to maintain their friendship with the several warring countries. This was especially true of the United States, because the war had a direct and depressing influence on our commerce and in-

dustry. Not only were the principal markets for our goods and the sources of supplies for our factories cut off, but our seaborne commerce was badly crippled because most of it was carried in vessels belonging to the belligerent countries.

Yet, notwithstanding the violent upsetting of normal foreign trade, in a very large way the war increased American commerce.



THE "LUSITANIA" LEAVING HER DOCK, NEW YORK HARBOR.
Sunk by a German submarine May 7, 1915, with the loss of 1,154 lives.

All the warring nations needed for their armies, and for their civil population, vast quantities of munitions, food, clothing, and other supplies beyond their own capacity to furnish.[1]

Each side tries to cut off all food-supplies from the other.

To prevent all supplies from reaching the enemy was of vital importance to both combatants. At the outset the Allies completely destroyed the direct ocean commerce of Germany except in the Baltic Sea, while the harm that Germany inflicted on British commerce by submarines and roving cruisers was at first comparatively small. The Allies then turned their efforts toward cutting down Germany's indirect trade through neutrals. This was a more intricate and more delicate task, for it involved the welfare of neutrals and struck heavily at American interests.

Until the opening of this war, food intended for civilians was

[1] For the year ending June 30, 1915, we exported such goods to the value of $857,000,000; in the preceding year the value of all such exports was about $221,000,000. This means that our sales to Europe by reason of the war increased about $636,000,000 during the year. For breadstuffs alone we received about $574,000,000 against only $165,000,000 the year before.

never considered as contraband, and hence could not be lawfully seized at sea when it was on the way to a belligerent port. But changed conditions brought about new practices. Some time after the war began German authorities, both those of cities and those of the imperial government, assumed control of the distribution of food-supplies in Germany. This caused Great Britain to declare on February 2, 1915, that all food imported into Germany was contraband. Moreover, Germany had placed mines in the North Sea for the defense of her coasts. But these were frequently found far away from the shore, either through having drifted, as Germany claimed, or because "strewn" for offensive purposes, as England claimed. So England established a "war zone" in the North Sea, with only a single lane for neutral vessels. On February 4, 1915, Germany retaliated by declaring a war zone, which included all the waters around Great Britain, and asserted that in this zone she would destroy all enemy vessels. She said it might not be possible to save crews and passengers, and, moreover, that neutral vessels sailing into this zone would be in danger. In return Great Britain announced, on March 3, that she would adopt means to prevent goods of any kind from reaching Germany. These extensions of contraband and blockade were violations of existing international law by both governments, and led our government to make strong and earnest protests.

We make strong and earnest protests to Great Britain and Germany.

The chief grounds of protest to Great Britain were two: first, that food for a civilian population had never been contraband, and by now making it that she was remaking international law by her own order; second, that her blockade was not in any case legal. That it was not legal was chiefly because it was not universally effective; it did not control, for instance, the Baltic Sea, where the German fleet kept trade open with the Scandinavian countries. Our protest to Germany required most delicate diplomacy on account of our great reluctance under these circumstances to break off relations with that country. But in the submarine campaign against England, Germany torpedoed several vessels carrying American citizens. The first was the

Cunard liner *Lusitania*, already alluded to, which was torpedoed (May 7, 1915) without warning off the coast of Ireland, with the loss of 1,154 lives, including 114 Americans, many of whom were women and children.

Consequently our government, in a note to Germany, insisted that American citizens had full rights under international law to travel wherever legitimate business called them; that Germany must make reparation for American lives and property so destroyed; and that in the future she must not allow her submarines either to attack American ships or to imperil American citizens travelling on any merchant ships.

Germany answers our protest against submarine warfare.

Germany declared that our requirements were equivalent to prohibiting submarine warfare altogether, since, if time were given to remove passengers, the wireless system made it easy for the ship attacked to call other vessels to her aid, and the submarine boats were too vulnerable to resist attack. She further declared that she had the right to use the only ocean weapon left her, and that the peril of innocent lives was a risk which neutrals must take or else be in effect allies of the enemies of Germany. Later, although refusing to admit that her course was illegal, Germany agreed to make reparation to the United States for the lives and property she had destroyed.

Germany promises to sink no more liners without warning.

But the trouble was far from being removed. Germany admitted no concern over the bitterness and indignation in America aroused by her course of action. Within four months after the *Lusitania* incident, a German submarine torpedoed another vessel, the *Arabic* (August 19, 1915), without warning, with the loss of two American lives. Again our government protested with vigor. In replying, Germany expressed regret, and repeated her willingness to pay indemnities for destroying American lives. She went still further by declaring that orders had been sent out to her submarine commanders, forbidding them in future to make attacks upon neutral merchantmen which would put in peril the lives of crews and passengers. She added that she would sink

no more passenger-vessels without giving a warning before the attack, unless, of course, they resisted or tried to escape. This fair promise made a favorable impression upon many Americans, but future acts showed that the government did not intend to keep its word when the promise was given, and this is further confirmed by official utterances since published.

Germany secretly acts as our enemy in many ways.

Neglecting no opportunity, the government was secretly acting as our enemy in many ways. It plotted against the peace, safety, and industries of the American people, through the German embassy and other German officials at Washington, even though we were at peace with Germany. Agitators were employed to foment strikes in important industrial centres. Men who were ready for any criminal violence were engaged to place bombs in the holds of vessels bound for England or France, and to blow up munition factories, without regard for the lives of men, women, and children.

The climax of German intrigue against the United States was reached in January, 1917. In a note which the German foreign office sent to the German minister in Mexico, it proposed "an alliance on the following basis: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona."

This act, when brought to light by our State Department, aroused profound indignation throughout the United States. Americans who before this time had not been inclined to believe in the faithlessness of Germany were now undeceived. They now realized that to win the war she would employ any method, no matter how unscrupulous it might appear to other nations. Her point of view was that the state, the German state, of course, could do no wrong.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Find out all you can about the causes of the World War under such topics as world-power ambitions, commercial rivalries, great standing armies backed by fears of the people, and autocratic rulers who cared nothing for human life.

2. How did the war bring about misunderstanding between the United States and Great Britain and finally bring us into war with Germany? Was there any similarity in this case to the difficulty between the United States and England and France prior to the War of 1812?
3. Was it possible to maintain neutrality and complete isolation in accordance with our traditions, or did a state of war exist, as President Wilson stated in his Message to Congress, in spite of our efforts to stay out of it? Discuss this fully.
4. Why did the sentiment of the world turn so decidedly against Germany and the other Central European powers associated with her?
5. Read Hugh Knyvett's "Over There with the Australians" and Ian Hay's "The First Hundred Thousand" for realistic pictures of the war.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War;* Gordy, *The Causes and Meaning of the Great War;* Stoddard and Frank, *The Stakes of the War;* Hart, *The War in Europe;* Simonds, *History of the World War;* McMaster, *The United States in the World War;* Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times,* 422–497; Ford, *Woodrow Wilson;* contemporary magazine articles.

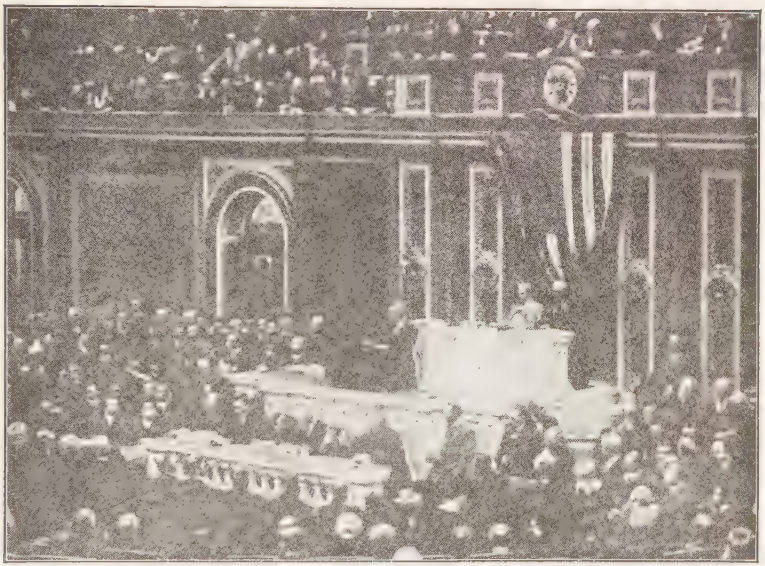
B. The United States Enters the War against Germany

Germany adopts an unrestricted policy of submarine warfare.

It was Germany's operations at sea that most directly affected the United States. Up to April 2, 1917, in carrying out her submarine policy, she had attacked 17 American merchantmen and 23 foreign vessels with American citizens on board, causing the loss of 226 American lives. When, at last, it seemed to her that victory was almost within reach, she ignored her promises, and openly defied the United States and all other neutrals. In a proclamation issued January 31, 1917, she declared that beginning on the following day she would adopt an unrestricted policy of submarine warfare, by sinking at sight, and without any attempt to safeguard crews and passengers, all vessels she might find in certain extensive areas named by her, north and west of northern Europe and in the Mediterranean Sea.

President Wilson breaks off diplomatic relations with Germany.

In her note to our government she granted us "permission" to send one vessel each week from New York to London, if marked in a certain way that she designated. This was the last straw. President Wilson at once (February 3) recalled our American



Photograph by C. V. Buck, © Underwood & Underwood.

PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERING HIS WAR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, APRIL 2, 1917.

ambassador from Berlin and dismissed the German ambassador at Washington. Thus did the United States sever her diplomatic relations with Germany, after three years of patient effort to maintain our rights as a neutral.

Germany drives the United States into war.

Even after taking this step, our government was loath to go to war, but Germany persisted in sinking our ships (between February 2 and April 2, 1917, eight American vessels were sunk by German submarines), and at last the President, in a memorable address to Congress on April 2, 1917, voiced the position of the country, as follows:

"The present submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

"There is one choice we cannot make. . . . We will not choose the path of submission, and suffer the most sacred rights of our people to be ignored or violated. . . .

"With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical

character of the step I am taking, . . . I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the imperial German Government to be, in fact, nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States."

These words had only one meaning, that the American people had no choice but to take up arms in defense of their rights as a free people. Germany had driven us into war by making war upon us. She had not only injured our commerce; she had also violated sacred human rights of American citizens, which we, as a free people, are bound to cherish and uphold. Congress, therefore, on April 6, 1917, declared that a condition of war existed between the United States and Germany.

Our government co-operates with the powers allied against Germany.

Shortly after Congress passed the war vote, the English and French Governments sent war missions to this country in order to arrange effective co-operation between the United States and the powers allied against Germany. Our aid was essential and a general plan of operations was soon agreed upon.

Although at that time our army was too small to be of service on European battle-fields, there were certain definite things we could do apart from furnishing troops: (1) We could lend the Allies money, so that they could buy here or elsewhere what they needed. (2) We could furnish them with munitions for their armies, raw materials for their civilian workers, and quantities of sorely needed food. (3) We could build merchant ships of sufficient tonnage to help carry these supplies across the ocean. (4) With our navy we could assist in fighting German submarines.

Our whole nation shows a fine spirit of co-operation.

The whole nation was enlisted to bear the heavy burden of war. All branches of industry were called upon to unite with the government. Farmers, business men, railroad operators, mechanics, unskilled laborers, and women and children, joined with the soldiers and sailors in devoted service to their country. The railroad directors operated the 250,000 miles of roads as if all were one system; the manufacturers sold the government their products at prices fixed by the govern-

ment; and the chief labor organizations pledged their unqualified support during the war, their leaders promising to do all in their power to prevent strikes.

To perfect the organization of the various industrial interests, Congress authorized the appointment by the President of a National Council of Defense, to consist of six cabinet members

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MAKING CARTRIDGES AT THE BETHLEHEM STEEL WORKS. RIGHT, CHILDREN AT WORK IN A WAR GARDEN.

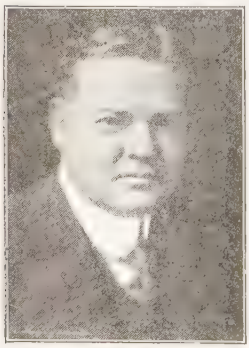
and seven civilians, who were to be chosen because of their conspicuous abilities as organizers. In this way the government secured the expert advice and invaluable service of some of the most prominent leaders in business, industry, and science in the country, many of whom in the spirit of patriotism would accept only the nominal salary of one dollar a year. In close co-operation with the Council of Defense were various commissions and boards, that were engaged on the special problems of the war, such as those of labor, raw materials, munitions, transportation, aircraft production, and sanitation; and the service rendered was of immeasurable value to the country.

Transportation across the sea is the most pressing problem.

Of all these pressing problems, that of transportation across the sea was the most urgent, for without its solution the others would be solved in vain. It was fortunate that Congress, in the preceding year, had created the Shipping Board for the purpose of increasing the number of our merchant ships and that the work of this board was already begun. It had under its control a capital of $50,000,000 with which to build or buy ships, and it at once began to push the construction of hundreds of merchant vessels.

Congress passes the "Food Control Bill."

To make careful provision for the conservation of our food-supplies and to regulate their prices, Congress passed the "Food Control Bill," and President Wilson appointed Herbert C. Hoover, former head of Belgian relief, as food administrator. "If we do not economize in foodstuffs," said Mr. Hoover, "we stand a great chance of losing the war." He assured the people that conditions in Europe had not been misrepresented, and that millions of people in the allied countries would starve unless we sent them food.



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HERBERT C. HOOVER.

A campaign to prevent waste was started and millions of small private gardens were planted. A special effort was made also to preserve by canning all perishable foods not needed for immediate use. "Waste not" became the slogan of all good housewives and producers.

The naval and military forces are mobilized.

An increase of food, ships, munitions, and other requirements was immediate upon our entering the war; the huge task of providing an adequate army and navy developed more slowly. Even before the declaration of war President Wilson had ordered the navy to be increased as rapidly as possible to the full war strength of 93,000 men; and the army, including the National Guard, in service on the Mexican border, was increased to about 600,000.

Congress provides for selective service.

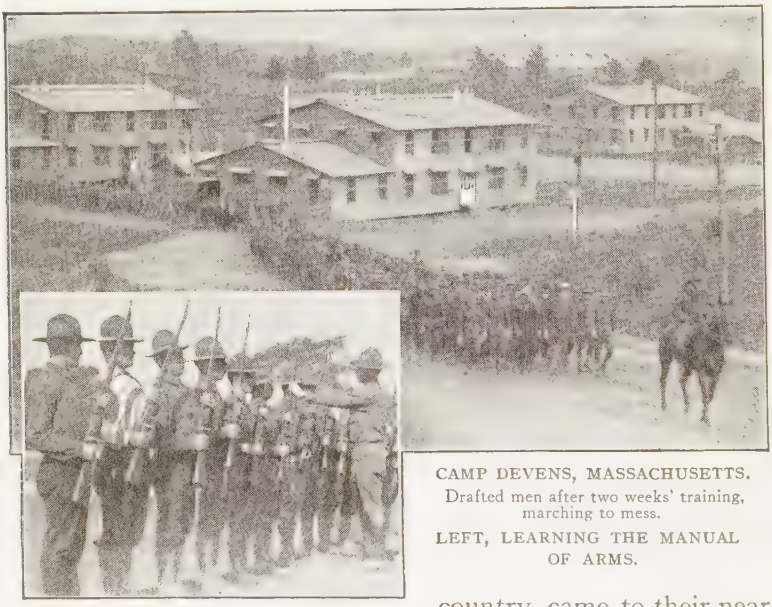
Within the month following the declaration of war the Army Draft Bill was passed (May 18). It was the first step in calling the young men of the country to the national colors. A new feature of the enrolment caused the

DRAFTED MEN ARRIVING AT ONE OF THE CANTONMENTS OR TRAINING-CAMPS.
There were sixteen of these throughout the country, each designed to train and form a division of infantry, approximately 40,000 men.

draft to be called selective; those who were best fitted for army life and had the fewest dependents were to be selected for the fighting line; and those who were physically or morally defective, or who were engaged in productive industries, or were already in some other way responding to the vital necessities of the country as related to the war, were to be exempted from active service. As President Wilson said: "The whole nation must be a team in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted. To this end Congress has provided that the nation shall be organized for war by selection; that each man shall be classified for service in the place to which it shall best serve the general good to call him."

The first draft of about 685,000 men is made.

On registration day (June 5),[1] 9,700,000 young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years inclusive, from every city, town, village, and rural community in the country, came to their nearest voting-places and registered. From these, during the next month, the first draft of about 685,000 was made. But long before the draft there had been many thousand volunteers accepted for service. Some enlisted in the National Guard, which the President called and drafted into the federal service; and some joined the regular army and navy, which Congress had greatly enlarged. Most of the drafted men became members of a newly created National Army and were sent for training to many huge cantonments located in various parts of the country. In the summer of 1918 the distinctive names for different kinds of service were abolished and all service men were included under the new title of the Army of the United States.



CAMP DEVENS, MASSACHUSETTS.
Drafted men after two weeks' training, marching to mess.
LEFT, LEARNING THE MANUAL OF ARMS.

[1] By amending the Army Draft Bill in August, 1918, and extending the draft age so as to include all men from eighteen to forty-five, Congress made available for war service 13,000,000 more.

Immediate naval and military aid extended to our allies.

To defend our coast against possible attack by German submarines or other hostile craft, our navy promptly began the patrol of American waters; and to supplement the navy in this coast defense an auxiliary fleet, known as the United States Naval Reserve Force, was organ-

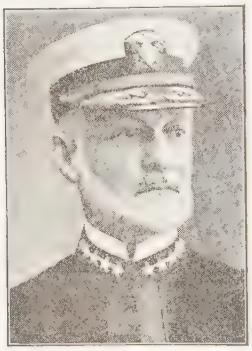
AMERICAN PLANES IN GROUP-FLIGHT FORMATION.
Photographed when directly overhead.

ized. Admiral Sims, in supreme command of naval operations, was sent with a squadron to European waters to aid the Allies in their submarine campaign. He arrived before the 1st of May. The first contingent of American troops, under the command of General Pershing, reached France late in June.

Vast plans are laid for a new instrument of war.

Land and water forces, however, no longer constitute a complete armament. By the time we entered the war the airplane had become a vital part of war equipment. It was an effective weapon of destruction, and the eyes of the army as well. Congress therefore passed the Aviation Bill, providing for an expenditure of $640,000,000 for

the construction of 20,000 airplanes and the training of many thousand pilots and other airmen. Yet so much time was spent in building aircraft factories and in experimenting with various types of engines that progress in airplane construction was slow, although in the course of a year a high-powered engine called the Liberty motor was developed. During the war more



RIGHT
GENERAL
JOHN J. PERSHING
COMMANDER OF
THE AMERICAN
EXPEDITIONARY
FORCE.

LEFT
ADMIRAL
WILLIAM S. SIMS
COMMANDER OF
U. S. NAVAL FORCES
IN FOREIGN WATERS.

© *Western Newspaper Union.*

than 13,500 such engines were produced, and over 9,500 training planes[1] were delivered, although no American-built fighting planes reached the front in France.

How the people helped finance the war.

To secure funds for meeting the enormous expenses of the war and for making loans to the Allies the government, at various times during the conflict, floated four loans, amounting to $14,000,000,000. In taking up these Liberty Loan bonds, as they were called, the people responded most loyally and gave expression to their patriotism by subscribing for about

[1] For military purposes there are two kinds of airplanes—training planes and service planes. Service planes are divided into four classes: (1) Observation planes, which are used for making observations, taking photographs of enemy troops, trenches, etc., and for directing artillery-fire; (2) pursuit planes, which drive the enemy from the air and protect the observation planes while they are at work; (3) day bombing machines, for the bombing of moving troops, railroad trains, and so on; and (4) night bombers, for dropping heavy bombs upon important works and strategic positions. As service airplanes increased in number at the battle-front, they were arranged in regular group formation called squadrons. By November, 1918, the Americans had in active service at the front in France 45 such squadrons, 20 of which were pursuit squadrons, 18 were observation squadrons, and 7 were bombing squadrons, the whole number totalling 740 planes.

SELLING LIBERTY BONDS.

Crowds in front of the Sub-Treasury, New York City, at a noon-day meeting during a Liberty Loan drive. Above the building can be seen a part of one of the poster paintings, the voluntary work of American artists.

LEFT, CHILDREN SELLING THRIFT STAMPS.

four and three-quarter billion dollars more in bonds than were offered. Since these loans did not meet the needs of the government, in October, 1917, Congress passed a war-tax bill, providing for another vast sum of money.

Later, in February, 1919, after the war activities had come to an end, another tax bill, making provision for perhaps $6,000,000,000, was passed by Congress; and, as this was not adequate,

a fifth loan—called the Victory Loan, providing for $4,500,000,000—was floated in the spring of 1919. This too was largely oversubscribed.

The direct cost of the war to the United States was about $22,000,000,000, which means more than $1,000,000 an hour for a period of more than two years. While paying out this huge sum for its own war expenses, our government loaned the Allies nearly $10,000,000,000.

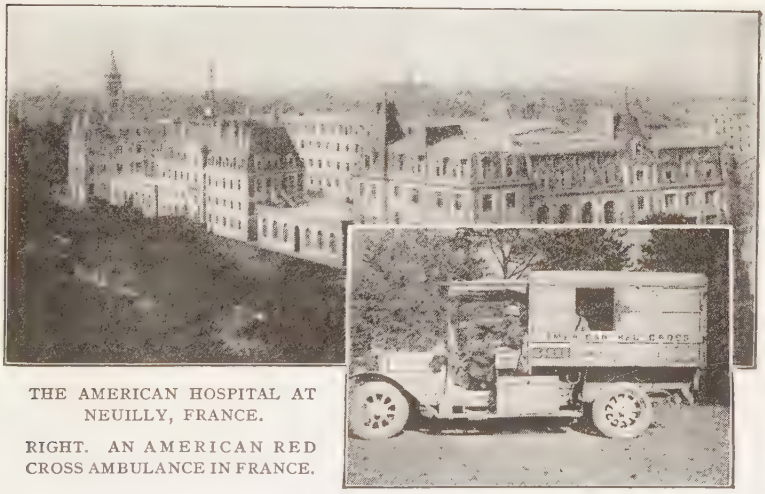
ARRIVAL OF VETERAN AMERICAN SOLDIERS, SENT BACK FROM THE FRONTS IN FRANCE TO HELP IN THE THIRD LIBERTY LOAN DRIVE.

Generous gifts are made to the American Red Cross.

Wholly apart from the funds collected by the government loans and taxes, the American Red Cross, declared by President Wilson to be "the officially recognized agency of voluntary effort in behalf of the armed forces of the nation and for the administration of relief," asked for gifts amounting to $100,000,000. The response was so generous that much more was given than the sum named.

The Red Cross was one of the most powerful agencies of the war. Its splendid system of relief included the care of wounded, sick, and mutilated soldiers, and aid for prisoners of war and civilians sent back from bondage in Germany to France and Belgium. It carried relief to the devastated districts of France

and Belgium and looked out for the protection and education of destitute children. It maintained hospitals for sick and wounded soldiers of the American army in France, and rest-houses, canteens, and recreation huts for American soldiers as well as for the soldiers of Italy, France, and the other nations at war with Germany. In a most sympathetic and kindly way it cared for the families of soldiers and sailors at home, supplementing the aid which came to them in the form of government



THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL AT NEUILLY, FRANCE.

RIGHT. AN AMERICAN RED CROSS AMBULANCE IN FRANCE.

relief. Wonderful help it was to the morale of the soldier in the trenches, whether of Italian, French, or other nationality, to know that his loved ones at home were receiving such friendly aid and kindly sympathy as were extended by the American Red Cross workers.

Social and welfare organizations perform important service.

For the purpose of making the army more effective, the government and people of the United States were unstinted in their efforts to care for the health, morale, and physical and mental well-being of American troops in their training-camps at home as well as on the other side of the Atlantic. In April, 1917, Newton D. Baker, our secretary of war, appointed a commission on training-camp ac-

tivities, with two objects in view: first, to keep the camps clean and wholesome; second, to give recreation and pleasure to the young men while they were in training. This commission wisely set about co-ordinating the social and welfare organizations that had already begun their invaluable work. They included the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Jewish Welfare Relief, the American Library Association, the American Social Hygiene Association, and others.

NAVAL TRAINING-STATION AT SAN DIEGO, CAL.

These organizations worked side by side harmoniously to relieve the monotony of the young soldier's daily routine and thus to make him more contented and better fitted for his new tasks. Like the Red Cross, they built rest-houses and recreation huts, furnished good reading matter, and gave various forms of entertainment. In other ways as well they provided many comforts and helped to keep up a high standard of morals.

The government is generous to the soldiers.

The United States also made generous provision for the care of the dependents of those who might die from injuries and disease incurred in the line of duty and for the care of wounded or mutilated soldiers. This was done through a liberal programme, which included not only insurance but compensation and allowance for the benefit of the soldier or those dependent upon him. Relieved of worry, it was expected that every soldier would be able to give himself more completely to his war occupations.

Unusual war conditions create necessity of government control of railroads.

Although the railroads of the country were already operating as a unit, just before the close of the year 1917 the government took their control into its own hands. This was done because of congestion in transportation. Cars loaded with fuel, food, and other important freight sometimes stood on side-tracks for days, waiting to be moved. A winter of extreme severity, with long periods of very low temperature and heavy snow-storms, was of itself a serious handicap. In explaining the action of the government, President Wilson pointed out that under the unusual war conditions it was impossible for the many private and competing companies to manage the complex system of transportation as effectively as the government could by appointing its own agent. William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury, was made director-general of the railroads.

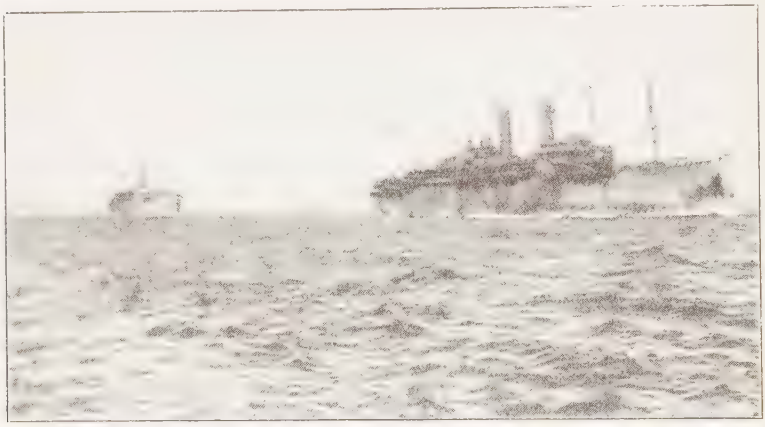
Plans are perfected for a more powerful navy and an adequate merchant marine.

Transportation of our forces across the sea was a heavier task even than moving traffic by rail. Before entering the war a considerable increase had been made in our navy. Immediately after declaring war, the government set out to make it far more powerful than it had ever been before. This was done with two ends in view: (1) To help the Allies keep open the lanes of ocean transportation for both men and supplies; and (2) to defend our seaports from attack and our coasts from invasion. By the 1st of May, 1918, the number of officers and men in our navy had reached about 300,000.

The new shipping included not only war-vessels and submarine destroyers, but also merchant ships, for without an adequate merchant marine we could not transport an army of millions to a battle-field three thousand miles distant, and at the same time the almost unlimited quantities of food, munitions, and other war materials required. So vitally essential was the problem of ocean transportation that production of merchant shipping was begun on a gigantic scale, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation was organized to have charge of its construction.

How the submarine all but won the war for Germany.

The need of new ships became even more pressing after Germany began to carry out her policy of unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917, for during the next six months the sinkings averaged more than 600,000 tons of shipping a month. In April the tonnage of



A FLEET OF U. S. TRANSPORTS, WITH CONVOY, NEARING FRANCE.
In spite of the German submarines not a loaded transport was lost.

ships sunk amounted to over 800,000 tons. When Admiral Sims reached London in May he learned that unless this rate of destruction could be reduced, Great Britain would at no distant date be compelled to surrender from lack of food. In other words, the submarines were winning the war for Germany.

American destroyers help defeat the submarine.

To meet this critical and even desperate situation new methods of fighting the submarine menace were adopted. The most important of these was an arrangement in convoy of merchant ships used for transporting troops, surrounding the ships with a screen of rapid destroyers which protected them effectively from submarine attack. The use of the convoy system was made possible when the United States sent overseas a fleet of American destroyers. After this system was introduced in June, 1917, the rate of sinkings fell

slowly but surely, and during the same period there was a steady increase, especially in the United States, in new ships and shipping.

Yet the enormous destruction of Allied and neutral tonnage —from August, 1914, to January, 1918, this amounted to 11,800,000 tons—had led the German military leaders to believe, in the spring of 1918, that American troops would be unable to reach France in time to be effective in deciding the war. According to their theory, the transportation problem could not be solved by America and the Allies. This seemed the more likely because the Allies had pressing need for every vessel that could be brought into service to transport food and other supplies[1] for their own soldiers and civilians.

The German High Command plans grand offensive to defeat our efforts.

Confident of victory, the officers of the German High Command were planning to bring the war to a close by a grand offensive before America could organize, train, and transport her armies. They were deluded by mistaken ideas of American character. They believed that the American people were engrossed in money-making; that being made up of so many races they would lack the unity of patriotism; and that they were mostly pacifists of the kind that would not respond to the call for military service. Even if America *should* raise and train her armies, German leaders assured themselves that they had nothing to fear, because the German submarine would prevent troops from getting across to Europe, and that, even if in some miraculous way they should reach the battle-front, such amateur fighters could not stand up against German veterans. With such arguments did they deride the preparations of the Americans.

What the Germans did not include in their reckoning was the

[1] For the colossal business of distributing supplies to the American forces sent overseas, one out of every four men was needed. Among the things done were the following: besides docks and warehouses, seventeen ship-berths and over 1 100 miles of railroad were built, and 100,000 miles of telegraph and telephone wire were strung. Before the signing of the armistice our government had shipped a large number of locomotives and railroad-cars and 40,000 trucks for the use of our forces in France.

speed and capacity of the Americans. By the middle of June, 1918, with the aid of British transports and convoys, there had been transported, to the battle-fields of France, 700,000 American soldiers; and before the war ended 2,000,000 of our troops[1]

TROOPS ON BOARD AN ARMED TRANSPORT WATCHING A DESTROYER AND PATROL VESSEL WHICH WERE TRYING TO LOCATE A SUBMARINE.

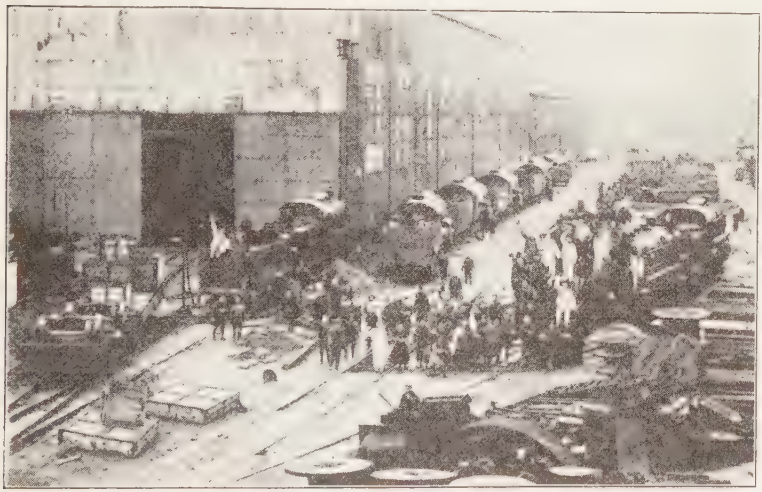
Naval gunners on watch on upper deck.

were on European soil, and about 300,000 fresh troops were landing there every month.

General von Ludendorff, who was in direct command of the German armies in France and Belgium, could not foresee this astounding achievement, and he was all the more confident of success because of the break-down in Russia, resulting from the revolution there. It had released a million German troops,

[1] Yet so effective was the convoy system that out of hundreds of transports only two were sunk by submarines on the voyages across the Atlantic and less than 300 American soldiers were drowned.

and his armies now outnumbered those of the Allies by more than forty divisions, that is, not far from 500,000 men. His purpose was to separate the British armies from the French by breaking through the Allies' lines, and then to capture the Channel ports in the north or Paris in the south. The great offensive, by which he hoped to achieve this result, continued



A U. S. LOCOMOTIVE ASSEMBLING YARD IN FRANCE, ONE OF THE MANY TREMENDOUS WORKS OF PREPARATION UNDERTAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES.

over a period of nearly four months and involved five titanic "drives," or assaults.

The first titanic "drive" is launched. The first "drive" was launched on March 21, when Ludendorff with 1,700,000 men made an irresistible attack upon the British army at the point where it was in touch with the French. Being greatly outnumbered, the British were forced to fall back. But neighboring British and French troops were hurriedly brought up, while at the same time a host of engineers, transport and ambulance men, and the like were quickly turned into an army by General Carey, and thrown into the gap between the armies of the Allies. All fought with

desperate valor and held back the onrushing Germans for six days until reserve forces arrived. This relieved the situation and saved the Allies from the gravest disaster. For if Ludendorff's men had separated the French from the British he could have crushed each of them in turn and have captured Paris and the Channel ports. With the military mastery of the Continent he could then have concentrated his forces upon England.

AMERICAN TROOPS ON THEIR WAY TO THE FRONT, RESTING ON THE ROAD.

The days following this first German "drive" were the darkest of the war for the Allies; but the experience, so bitter to them, had two results which proved to be damaging to Germany. The first was the putting of all the Allied armies under the supreme command of one man, Marshal Ferdinand Foch, the brilliant French general. The second was the speeding up of the transportation of American troops across the Atlantic to the western front.

Americans at Château-Thierry halt the German advance.

By the time that the third German "drive" for the capture of Paris began (May 27), American troops had arrived in sufficient numbers to play a conspicuous part in the fighting. In the region of Château-

Thierry, on the river Marne, our boys of the Second and Third Divisions not only halted the advance of picked German troops, flushed with recent victory, but forced them to give ground. In fact, to Americans—United States soldiers and a brigade of marines of the American army—fell the honor of taking over the lines where the assault was fiercest and where failure to check the enemy would have opened the road for his advance

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THE U. S. MARINES ON PARADE IN PARIS, JULY 4, 1918.

upon Paris, only forty miles away. Soldiers and marines, fighting side by side, here rendered valiant service. Their heroism has never been surpassed in the annals of warfare.

Belleau Wood is cleared of Germans in a deadly struggle.

The deadly struggle in Belleau Wood, where the battle of Château-Thierry was fought, began on June 2 and lasted for almost an entire month. The loss of the marines, either in killed or badly wounded, was more than half of their entire force of 8,000 men. For days at a time they went without rest, except when so exhausted that they fell asleep at their posts. Often they went for days without hot rations, and sometimes for long periods without water. But outnumbered though they were—sometimes three, four, and even five to one—they fought doggedly on, week after week, until by the

end of June they had cleared Belleau Wood of every German soldier.

The heroic struggle of Château-Thierry truly represented the fighting qualities of the entire American army. The men who fought there—soldiers and marines alike—covered themselves

ABOVE, TWO TANKS PASSING THROUGH A WOOD. BELOW, A TANK CROSSING A TRENCH ON ITS WAY INTO ACTION.

The tank is a development from the American-built tractor.

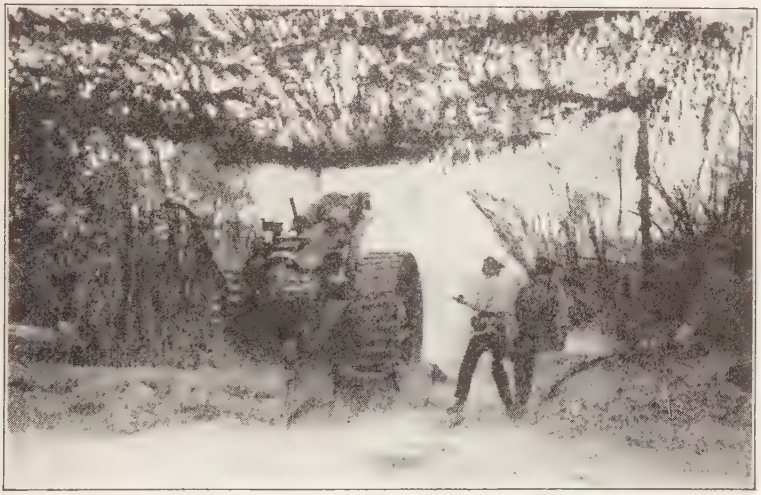
with imperishable glory and added a brilliant chapter to the record of American heroism. This battle has been called the turning-point of the war.

Marshal Foch begins a great counter-offensive.

About two weeks after the German defeat at Château-Thierry, Ludendorff launched his fifth and last assault (July 15). After advancing three days his armies were halted by the strategy of Marshal Foch, who, on July 18, began his great counter-offensive that was not to end until the German forces were thoroughly beaten.

At the outset of this counter-offensive the Marne for a second time became the battle-ground and the scene of a serious German disaster. Here, as in September, 1914, heavy masses of

reserve troops, about whom the Germans seem to have had no knowledge, were hurled against them with terrific force. Marshal Foch could safely use his reserves now because many American divisions were on the front and fresh American troops that were constantly arriving were under training for active service.



A GUN IN ACTION AT THE FRONT CONCEALED FROM AIRPLANE OBSERVATION BY CAMOUFLAGE SCREEN.

The German army, disorganized and thrown into confusion, was forced to retreat across the river with heavy losses of men and guns. This second battle of the Marne (July 18–29) was quite as decisive as the first.

From that day forward, for more than three months, Marshal Foch kept up a ceaseless hammering against the German lines, striking first at one point and then at another, his armies constantly advancing on a front reaching from the Channel on the north to St. Mihiel on the south.

American troops score a brilliant victory at St. Mihiel.

A significant feature of this campaign was the capture of St. Mihiel by American and French troops under the command of General Pershing. In the early dawn of September 12, after four hours of artillery-fire upon the enemy, seven divisions of the American First Army

attacked both sides of the German salient at the same time. Everywhere the enemy yielded to the powerful assaults, and after the loss of 16,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns, they gave up St. Mihiel. In this battle, which lasted two days, General Pershing not only captured two hundred square miles of territory, but also drove the enemy out of a position which had given him a distinct advantage as a base from which to start a forward movement on that part of the front.

Americans show their traditional valor fighting through the Argonne Forest.

By the last of September the German armies were in full retreat toward their own frontier. Again, as at Château-Thierry, Marshal Foch showed his confidence in the American troops by intrusting to them a task of great difficulty and magnitude. They were to fight their way through the Argonne Forest, whose ravines, hills, and elaborate defenses, hidden from view by dense thickets, led the Germans to believe that it was impregnable, and then they were to cut the German main line of communication in the rear. If they could succeed they would bring catastrophe upon all the German armies in Belgium and France, for there were only two gateways by which the Germans could escape, with the countless guns and military supplies which they had been accumulating for four years. One of these gateways was at Liége, in the north, but that was too narrow. The other was at Sedan. The closing of this wider outlet was one of the most arduous tasks of the war.

The German army, facing complete disaster, signs an armistice.

"On November 2," said General Pershing, who was in command of all the American forces in France, "the advance movement became an onslaught which could not be stayed. On the 6th a division of the First Corps reached a point on the Meuse opposite Sedan, twenty-five miles from our line of departure. The strategical goal which was our highest hope was gained. We had cut the enemy's main line of communication, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save the army from complete disaster." Ludendorff chose an armistice, which was, in fact, as it turned out, an unconditional surrender. It was signed on November

11, 1918, and the war, so far as campaigns and battles were concerned, was at an end.

America plays a large part in defeating Germany.

Eight months before, when Ludendorff began his grand offensive (March 18), there were but four American divisions ready to meet the Germans in battle. But in the onrush for Sedan which began late in September and lasted forty-seven days, we had thirty divisions (about 840,000 men) and ten more (about 280,000 men) ready to fill up the ranks. Before the end of October more than 2,000,000 Americans had been transported across the Atlantic, and 2,000,000 more were under training in the United States. In the Meuse-Argonne battle, which was the greatest in American history, our army lost in killed, wounded, and missing more than 100,000 men. Our total losses during the war, in killed, wounded, missing, and those who died of disease were nearly 303,000.

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AMERICAN ENGINEERS PARADING IN LONDON.

It is gratifying to know that, though late in entering the war, America reached the battle-front in France in time, and that the part she played in achieving victory over the German armies was a large and worthy one. Without her timely aid the Allies would probably have suffered defeat.

The American people are self-sacrificing and patriotic.

From the day when Congress declared that we were at war with Germany, the American people, with a spirit unsurpassed in their history, showed a willingness to meet any demands that might be made upon their pa-

triotism. Through many organizations, old and new, and by private enterprise, they generously gave time, money, and invaluable service, without thought of material reward. Our young men, volunteers or drafted, regardless of race, creed, or social station, cheerfully left their homes to serve their country and, by their heroic and self-sacrificing spirit, they proved their moral worth and their robust manliness. North, South, East, and West were one in the glowing patriotism that spread throughout America, and the nation, united in purpose as in no other war of its history, put forth a colossal energy. We were all "comrades" in defending our country against autocracy and in upholding our faith in liberty and justice throughout the world.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Review and discuss the progress Germany had made against the Allies up to the time the United States entered the war. How do you account for Germany's success in the eastern battle-fields? What effect were her submarines having upon the supply-ships of the Allies? For what reasons did Germany think that victory was in sight for her and that America need not be feared?
2. What finally precipitated our entrance into the war? What was the moral effect upon the Allies? Upon Germany? How did President Wilson characterize Germany's methods of war in his address to Congress April 2, 1917?
3. How did the American people express their patriotic spirit? Discuss the slogan "A war to make the world safe for democracy."
4. Discuss the stupendous task America faced in the preparation for war. How do you account for our surprising success in getting ready so quickly?
5. Why did we need a great merchant marine, and how did it help to win the war? How did our destroyer fleet help to bring the war to a successful conclusion?
6. Explain the nature of the fighting on land and tell of the heroism of the Americans at Château-Thierry and in the Argonne forest. How did our troops there help to turn the scale?
7. What did the United States pay to help win the war? In lives? In money? In sacrifices?
8. Several new and very deadly weapons of war came into use during the World War. The toll of millions killed and of millions who perished from disease, wounds, and starvation indicates that modern war means extermination of whole nations if fought to the finish. Discuss these modern devices for warfare as to their possible future development.

9. Read Dawson's letters in "Carry On" and "Living Bayonets" for a vivid account of a soldier's experiences in the trenches and on the battlefields of France.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 453–480; McMaster, *The United States in the World War;* Hart, *The War in Europe;* Sims, *The American Navy in the War;* Powell, *The Army Behind the Army;* Bassett, *Our War with Germany;* contemporary magazine articles; Chéradame, *The Pan-German Plot Unmasked;* Gordy, *The Causes and Meaning of the Great War;* Dawson, *Out to Win.*

POETRY: Seeger, *I Have a Rendezvous with Death* and *Ode in Memory of the American Volunteers Fallen for France;* Service, *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man.*

C. The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations

The Peace Conference is held at Paris; it tries to solve two big problems.

The Peace Conference met in Paris in December, 1918, the United States being ably represented. President Wilson was at the head of the American delegation, "for the purpose"—as he stated—"of taking part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace." His presence at the conference was necessary, he believed, "in order to obviate the manifest disadvantages of discussion by cable in determining the greater outlines of the final treaty."

The problem which the Peace Conference tried to solve was by far the biggest and most complex to which any group of men have ever applied themselves since the dawn of history. The problem was twofold: it was not only (1) to work out a treaty of peace with Germany and her allies, but (2) to establish an enduring peace by creating a representative political organization of the world. Hitherto arbitrary military power had been the determining force in settling disputes between governments, and a new order of international relations in accordance with the wishes of the people was to be worked out. This was revolutionary and meant that the rule of law, already in operation within cities, states, and nations, should henceforth be established in the political relationship between nations.

Under the old system, when a strong power wished to gain her ends, even by robbing or oppressing a weaker one, she carried out her wish unless, as sometimes happened, she was pre-

vented through force of arms by other strong nations, who likewise, as a rule, were acting from selfish motives. The result was that many of the nations, especially in Europe, became so suspicious and fearful that they built up powerful armies and navies in competition one with another. Yet, even so, their

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PRESIDENT WILSON AND REPRESENTATIVES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN SESSION AT VERSAILLES.

fears were not removed, for each one knew that some of the others might combine against her.

For years two rival groups keep the balance of power in Europe.

In fact, two such combinations or groups of nations had been formed: the Triple Alliance (1883), consisting of Germany, Austria, and Italy; and the Triple Entente (1907), composed of England, France, and Russia. These two rival groups were supposed to keep the

"balance of power" in Europe and thus to prevent war; but this they were unable to do, as had so often happened in the past, and their gigantic military and naval combinations only made the possibilities in war more appalling. Such alliances, however, by their very failure served to point the way to an association of all the nations, which should rest the protection of the world upon law rather than upon force. The Peace Conference at Paris was destined to formulate such a plan.

This new plan of world organization, which was called the League of Nations, required a constitution for the same reason that our federal Union, when it was organized in 1787, required one. Such a constitution was the necessary basis for a working programme of co-operation and mutual helpfulness. Before the end of 1921 fifty-one nations had joined the League.

The great purpose of the League is to prevent war.

Without entering upon the details of the structure or functions of the League, we shall mention a few important provisions of the Covenant. The great purpose of the League, according to the preamble of the Covenant, is to prevent war by bringing about co-operation among the nations of the world. In order to achieve this purpose, four most important steps are necessary: (1) The reduction of national armaments; (2) the settlement of international disputes by peaceful methods;[1] (3) the protection of weak nations; and (4) the abolishment of secret treaties between nations.

Arguments urged for and against the League of Nations.

A prolonged discussion took place when President Wilson submitted to the Senate the treaty of peace, which included the Covenant of the League of Nations. Some thought the treaty should be ratified without change; others that it should be altogether rejected; and others still that it should not be ratified without reservations that would make clear to the world the exact meaning, according to the interpretation of the Senate, of certain important provisions in the Covenant. This third group of senators insisted that (1) the

[1] The Permanent Court of International Justice, consisting of eleven judges and four deputy judges, was created by the League of Nations in 1921. Its first meeting was held January 30, 1922, but prior to that time three disputes had been settled by the League.

Monroe Doctrine should be protected; (2) that the United States should preserve her own sovereignty in such domestic questions as immigration and the tariff; and (3) that this country should not be under any obligation to the League to send armies to settle troubles in countries far away unless Congress, at the time, should take definite action so to do. Many senators supported the views of President Wilson that none of these matters re-

U. S. TRANSPORT "LEVIATHAN," FORMERLY THE GERMAN PASSENGER-SHIP "VATERLAND," THE LARGEST SHIP OF HER TIME, LADEN WITH HOME-COMING TROOPS, ENTERING NEW YORK HARBOR.

quired reservations because they were already clearly and sufficiently guarded in the Covenant itself.

After several months the Senate finally refused by vote to ratify the treaty, which included the Covenant (March 20, 1920).

Some important provisions of the treaty.

The treaty of peace as signed between Germany and the Allies contained the following important provisions: Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France; Germany's colonies were taken from her; and all concessions and territory previously occupied in China by Germany had to be given up.

The treaty provided that the fortifications of Heligoland should be demolished, and by German labor, and that the Kiel Canal should be opened to all nations.

Germany was not allowed to have an army of more than 100,000 men after March 31, 1920, and was required to put an end to conscription. Her navy was limited to twenty-four ships, consisting of six battleships of not more than 10,000 tons each, six light cruisers, and twelve torpedo-boats. She was not to have any submarines. These provisions were a crushing blow to Prussian militarism.

Germany was required to make reparation for the wholesale destruction she had wrought, beginning with a payment within two years of $5,000,000,000 to the Allies. She had to replace the shipping she had destroyed ton for ton by handing over a large part of her mercantile tonnage and by turning out new construction in her shipyards. Her economic resources were also to be devoted to rebuilding the regions her armies had devastated in Belgium, France, and elsewhere. Some of these provisions were later modified by the Allies to enable Germany to meet them.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. Explain the twofold problem of the Peace Conference at Paris.
2. How was the "balance-of-power" plan supposed to work in Europe to keep the peace? It had led to the most destructive war in history. What did the proposed new political organization offer as a substitute to prevent war?
3. How was the Covenant of the League of Nations received in the United States?
4. Discuss the League with reference to the historic American policies of isolation and no entangling alliances. With reference to the Monroe Doctrine.
5. Outline the terms of the treaty on Germany. In order to comply with the terms, what did it mean to Germany's future?
6. What responsibilities do you think the United States should assume to help maintain the peace of the world? Are we in a position to play a leading part in making world relations and conditions better?
7. You will find it helpful to read Duggan's "The League of Nations."

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL: Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, 481–497; Bassett, *Our War with Germany; The American Year Book for* 1919 and *The New International Year Book for* 1919 (E. B. Krehbiel, compiler); Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the War;* Duggan, *The League of Nations:* contemporary magazine articles.

CHAPTER XX

SETTLEMENTS AND ADJUSTMENTS, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL, IN THE NEW ERA

The coming of peace after such a complete disruption of life throughout the civilized world brought with it complex problems which challenged the best thought of the ablest statesmen at home and abroad. These problems included not only the settlements and adjustments made necessary by participation in the war and the peace, but others as well that had their beginning some years earlier than this period, and now took on a new significance and interest.

Reconstruction a tremendous undertaking.

The task of reconstruction had begun with the signing of the armistice (November 11, 1918). It was a tremendous undertaking. Our government had to bring from European battle-fields 2,000,000 soldiers, demobilize our armies, and restore 4,000,000 men to their places in peaceful occupations. Fortunately, the majority of the soldiers were away from home but a short time, and in most instances they returned to their old positions. As a large proportion were young and unmarried, they were easily absorbed again into civil life. To many the army experience itself had been a liberal education, and some were able to secure better positions than before. Thousands of others returned to finish high-school or college courses.

The difficult cases were those of the badly wounded and of the men suffering from shell-shock or the effects of poisonous gas. It was the purpose and desire of the government to care for all these in government hospitals, with the best attention, medical treatment, and constructive surgery available, but on account of the magnitude of the work the plan was not wholly carried out. Men who were unfitted for their former work—the blind, for instance—were taught new trades or occupations. The shell-shocked and badly gassed soldiers were the most baffling to medical science, for their recovery was usually very

slow. The thousands that were physical wrecks for life, in spite of all that the government or that science could do for them, are sad reminders of the tragedy and horrors of modern warfare.

Warren G. Harding elected President. He advocates a new type of association of nations.

Inasmuch as the Senate had failed to ratify the treaty on account of the Republican opposition to the League of Nations, the League became the leading issue in the presidential campaign of 1920. The Republicans, with Senator Warren G. Harding,[1] of Ohio, as their nominee, opposed the League, while the Democrats, with Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio, as their candidate, favored its adoption. Senator Harding was elected by a stupendous majority, receiving 7,000,000 more popular votes than Governor Cox.

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WARREN G. HARDING.

In his inaugural address (March 4, 1921) President Harding advocated that the end of the state of war with Germany be brought about by Congressional resolution. Such action was taken several months later (July 1, 1921). The administration immediately began to give serious consideration to such matters of domestic and international moment as had been raised in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Although rejecting the League, our government left no doubt that its intention was to maintain close and sympathetic relations with the responsible European Powers.

[1] Warren G. Harding, twenty-ninth President of the United States (1921–1923), was born in Corsica, Ohio, in 1865. He was graduated from Ohio Central College in 1882, and took up newspaper work as a profession, later becoming owner and editor of the Marion *Daily Star*. After serving as state senator for four years (1900–04) and as lieutenant-governor for two years (1904–06), he was elected to the United States Senate in 1914, where he became a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Having been chosen in 1920 as Republican candidate for President, he was elected by an overwhelming majority. During his public career he proved himself a faithful and competent official.

The need of our co-operation becomes increasingly evident.

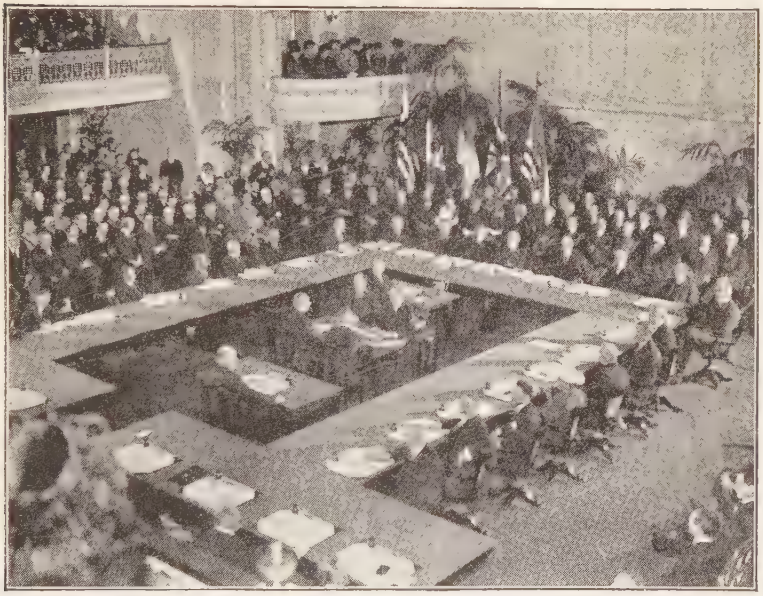
In order to indicate our desire to co-operate in the betterment of world conditions, Charles E. Hughes, the secretary of state, in conformity with our interests and those of the world, outlined a policy which it was hoped would tend toward economic, social, and political reconstruction. Our government also supported the Allies in insisting that Germany meet to the limit of her capacity reparations demanded by the Allied Powers for the destruction of property.

Such co-operation on our part was imperative; so complete was the political and economic chaos in Europe, and so seriously was our own material welfare impaired by the prevailing disorder and confusion following the war. We were slow to realize that our economic aid in the readjustment of business was needed quite as much as our army and navy had been during the years of the war. Moreover, apart from the European need was the fact that the United States had become such an economic and commercial factor in the life of the world that our own good, as well as that of the other nations, was involved.

While the war had cost our country many billions of dollars, it had left us by far the richest of all nations. When it began we were a debtor nation; when it ended Europe was deeply in debt to us. The outstanding problem in most European countries was to secure raw material for their manufactures. With a greatly depreciated currency, which in some cases was almost worthless, attempts to buy in our country or elsewhere were beset with grave difficulties. Since their money was of so little value and their credit so uncertain, Americans were not inclined to sell to European merchants. About all they could do was to send ship-loads of goods here in exchange for our commodities until some means could be found to finance their purchases.

President Harding calls a conference for discussion of limitation of armaments, and Pacific and Far Eastern problems.

Something had to be done to prevent the complete financial and political collapse of European nations, and above all to relieve all nations of the burden of maintaining vast armaments which for years had become increasingly expensive. In fact, all the world



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THE CONFERENCE FOR DISCUSSION OF LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS AND PACIFIC AND FAR EASTERN QUESTIONS IN SESSION AT WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 21, 1921.

powers, with tremendous war debts, were face to face with the possibility of becoming bankrupt in their preparations for defense or war. Even the United States was spending nine-tenths of its national revenues in paying for past wars or in building for possible wars in the future.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1921, President Harding invited the leading powers to a conference, which met in Washington on November 11, 1921, to discuss limitation of armaments and Pacific and Far Eastern problems. In addition to the five powers having the largest navies—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—there were represented in the conference Belgium, China, the Netherlands, and Portugal, because these four countries had special interests in the Pacific.

On the first day of the conference our secretary of state, Charles E. Hughes, thrilled and cheered the world by proposing that the United States, Great Britain, and Japan should scrap

sixty-six capital ships with a tonnage of nearly 1,900,000 tons, and that the building of such ships should stop for a period of ten years.

The principle of a sweeping reduction and of a relative strength in a ratio carefully worked out by naval experts was unanimously approved by the three powers and finally, in the Five-Power Naval Treaty, it was agreed[1] that the United States should have a capital ship tonnage of 525,000, Great Britain the same, Japan three-fifths as much, and France and Italy slightly more than one-third. This drastic limitation of naval armaments was significant and far-reaching because it marked the end, at least for a time, of ruinous competition in navy-building.

Still more important, it may prove, was the Four-Power Treaty, whose purpose was to remove the causes of friction and strife in the region of the Pacific. The parties to the treaty were the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, and its leading provisions were as follows: (1) The four powers agreed to respect each other's rights as to insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific; (2) if a dispute about these rights should arise, a conference of all the contracting parties would be called for a consideration and adjustment of the difficulties; (3) if the rights should be threatened by any outside nation, the four powers would communicate with one another for the purpose of arranging a plan of action; (4) upon the ratification of the treaty, the alliance between Great Britain and Japan, which had been in force since 1911, should come to an end.

In harmony with the Four-Power Treaty Elihu Root, of the American delegation, proposed ending special privileges for nations in China and guaranteeing her political independence and territorial integrity. This proposal essentially restated the "open door" policy initiated by our government in 1899. Its significance lay in the fact that China, with her enormous wealth in natural resources and her inability to protect herself against other nations, remained the storm centre in the Far East.

The Washington Conference carefully considered, also, the abolition or limitation of submarines and the use of poisonous gas in war.

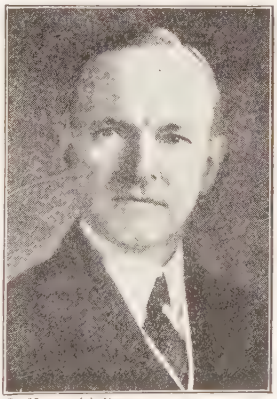
[1] It remained for the agreements reached by the delegates to the conference to be ratified by their respective governments.

President Harding dies while on a long speech-making tour in the Far West.

President Harding strongly desired that our country should have an official representative in the Permanent Court of International Justice. To tell the people face to face the reasons for his desire and to discuss in a general way important public problems, so that all voters might better understand them, he made a speech-making tour across the country and up to Alaska, starting in June, 1923. The physical strain was so severe that on reaching San Francisco he was taken seriously ill, and died suddenly on August 2. His death was a great shock to the country, causing deep sorrow, for by his kindly nature and attractive personality President Harding had made friends among men and women of all political parties.

A new administration inherits big problems.

The Vice-President, Calvin Coolidge,[1] became President. All the cabinet officers remained with the new administration, which inherited big problems. Although both the House of Representatives and the Senate had Republican majorities, the Sixty-eighth Congress could not be depended upon to carry out the policies of the administration. "Blocs," that is, groups not bound by party policies, held the balance of power. In particular, the group of Republicans of which Senator La Follette was leader, opposed the administration on several



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CALVIN COOLIDGE.

[1] Calvin Coolidge, thirtieth President of the United States (1923–), was born at Plymouth, Vermont, on July 4, 1872. He was graduated from Amherst College in 1895 and began to practise law in Northampton in 1897. He was elected a member of the Northampton City Council in 1899; city solicitor in 1900; clerk of the courts in 1904; and mayor in 1910. He has filled the following state offices: a member of the General Court of Massachusetts, 1907–08; member of the State Senate, 1912–15; Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, 1916–18; and Governor, 1919–20. He was elected Vice-President of the United States for the term 1921–25, and became President on the death of Warren G. Harding, in 1923. The people of the country showed their confidence in him by electing him President in 1924 by a sweeping majority.

important issues. Perhaps the most outstanding issue, and the one to which President Harding had given much thought, was whether the United States should participate in the Permanent Court of International Justice. This question could not be taken up for consideration by the Senate unless reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, and they did not report it.

The first problem to which President Coolidge directed the attention of Congress was the reduction of federal taxation. The country was unanimous for a reduction, but individuals had very different ideas about what taxes should be reduced, and how much to reduce them. The Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew D. Mellon, submitted a plan reducing taxes on all incomes. Under it the tax on the larger incomes was to be very much reduced. The highest surtax, for instance, or that on incomes of $500,000 or more, was to be reduced from 50% to 25%. This plan was made an administration measure, but Congress did not follow the President's recommendation. Congress made the highest surtax rate 40%, but made the reduction in the total taxation of incomes under $20,000 greater than in the Mellon plan.

The Nation gives a bonus to the veterans of the World War.

Another measure having to do with taxation was the Bonus Law. Following the World War there was a wide-spread belief that the American veterans should receive a bonus from their country in appreciation of their services; but a large body of citizens, including many men who had been in the service, were against it. The American Legion, however, supported the bonus, and in many sections it became a political issue. The Senate and the House of Representatives passed the Bonus Law in May by a two-thirds vote over the veto of the President

The Dawes Commission provides a way for Germany to pay the Allies war damages.

One of the problems resulting from the war seriously affected economic conditions everywhere. It grew out of the failure of Germany to pay the Allies the reparations agreed upon in the treaty of Versailles. For the purpose of collecting these reparations,

France and Belgium had sent military forces to occupy the Valley of the Ruhr in Germany, the most important coal and iron area of Europe. This occupation was not producing the desired results, and was disturbing to the rest of the world. The situation became so threatening that Great Britain, France, and their allies in the World War formed a special commission to consider a plan of paying reparations to which Germany would agree. The United States Government was not represented on this commission, but Charles G. Dawes, Owen D. Young, and Henry M. Robinson personally accepted European appointment as members from the United States, and the commission organized with General Dawes as chairman. After a thorough investigation the Commission reported a plan which would enable Germany to pay reparations out of revenue received from taxes, and out of profits from the operation of her railways and industries. The Dawes report was accepted by all the participating countries, including Germany.

Restrictions on immigration seem necessary.

After the war it was feared that the hard industrial conditions in many European countries might lead to an overwhelming increase in immigration that would seriously interfere with labor conditions here. In 1921, therefore, a law was passed restricting immigration for one year to 3 per cent of the foreign-born persons of the same nationality living here in 1910. The law was amended later to extend the period to June 30, 1924. In that month another immigration law was passed reducing the percentage allowed each nationality every year from 3 per cent to 2 per cent, and basing that percentage on the number of each nationality living here in 1890 instead of 1910. The law contained a clause excluding Japanese immigrants, thus bringing to an end the "gentleman's agreement" between Japan and the United States, which had controlled Japanese immigration since 1907. President Coolidge opposed the Japanese exclusion clause in the form in which it was adopted, and asked for delay. The Japanese Government made a vigorous protest, but the secretary of state, Charles E. Hughes, insisted upon the right of the United States to determine its own immigration policy.

American Army Officers make an air flight around the world.

On March 17, 1924, United States army officers, in four airplanes, started from southern California on a flight around the world. The purpose of the flight was to study the effect of atmospheric conditions upon aviation. The course was northward to Alaska and westward across Asia, Europe, and the Atlantic. One of the planes was wrecked on the coast of Alaska; another in the Atlantic off the coast of Iceland. Two of the four airplanes, however, completed this wonderful voyage in the air and reached Washington on September 9. The success of the flight was due not only to the plucky fliers but to the efficient planning of the Army Air Service in co-operation with the Navy.

A daily air-mail service across the entire continent was established on July 1, 1924. The time of the flight is 36 hours, and a total distance of 6,000 miles is covered daily by all the fliers.

The Presidential campaign of 1924.

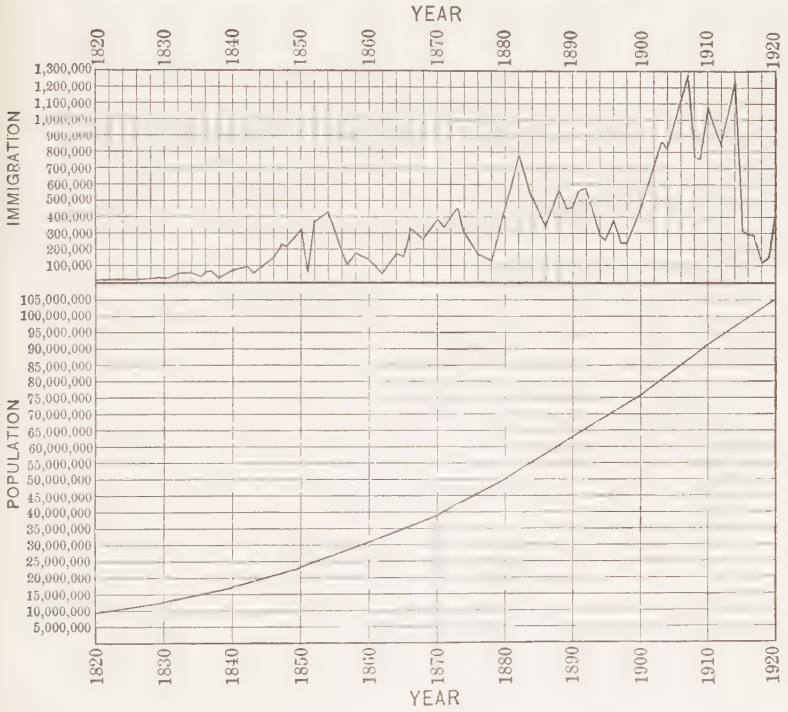
By the middle of the summer the campaign for election of President was in full swing. The leading candidates were Calvin Coolidge, Republican; John W. Davis, Democrat; and Robert M. LaFollette, independent. Mr. Coolidge was elected by a very large majority.

Education the great agency for intelligent citizenship for the foreign-born.

According to the census of 1910, one-third of our white population was either foreign-born or of parentage that was foreign-born. Another startling fact was that nearly 3,000,000 of these people over ten years of age could not speak English, and that, of this 3,000,000, more than 2,500,000 were over twenty-one years old — that is, of voting age. In the next four years (1910–1914) our average immigration was more than a million a year, so that by the time the World War began the number of non-English-speaking adults was still further increased. And yet in 1915, as statistics show, less than 36,000 of this huge group speaking foreign languages attended any school. When two years later, in June, 1917, the selective draft was taken, the fact was revealed that there were in this country 700,000 illiterate men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one.

They were for the most part foreign-born adults who did

not understand American ideals and institutions, and who could not, therefore, assume their duties and responsibilities as citizens in this great free country, where the government



INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS FROM 1820 TO 1920.

is "of the people, by the people, and for the people." To unite all the foreign-born coming from so many lands in one strong, compact national group, devoted to their adopted country and willing to serve her best interests at whatever cost, is the task to be accomplished.

In achieving it manifold agencies must be employed, for the foreign-born must be taught not only the English language and something about American history and American government, but above everything a sense of responsibility in co-operating with others to render patriotic service to their common coun-

try. This is indeed the great essential. In fact, the native-born and the foreign-born alike, if they are to succeed in making a better neighborhood, a better state, and a better country, must unite in the American citizenship movement.

Intelligence and morality needed in a democracy like ours.

Good citizenship in a democracy like ours demands a high level of intelligence and morality. That the American people keenly realize this need and are striving to meet it is shown by the progress made in popular education in recent years. There has been a surprising growth of attendance in the elementary schools, high schools, colleges, and universities, and a marked change in the subjects of study. For these advances and extensions in education there are two reasons: (1) Acceptance of the fact that each human being should be taught according to his individual needs and should be trained to do his part as a responsible member of society; and (2) growth in democratic feeling has caused a larger democracy in the field of education. As education is a preparation for social and industrial life, all changes in that life require corresponding changes in the kind of training which society gives to its young people in the schools.

New means devised for extending education and making it more adequate.

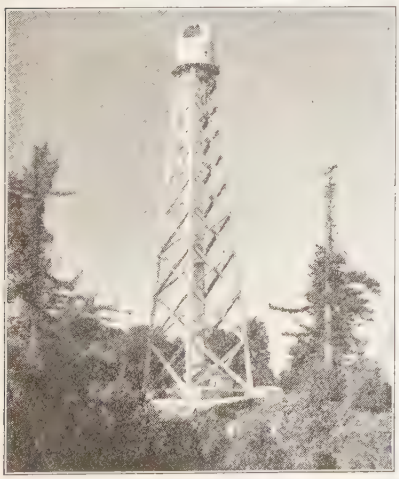
To extend the advantages of education compulsory-attendance laws have been passed. Several states have laws that forbid their young people to leave school before they have reached a certain grade and are fifteen or sixteen years of age. These stringent measures, supplemented in many states by an increase in the length of the school year, have largely reduced the number of people who can neither read nor write.

A marked improvement has been made in the rural-school systems by consolidating the small district schools of the township into one large graded school. This makes it possible for the children to be taught in larger groups, under special teachers. In the rural schools as well as the schools of towns and cities, the new subjects of study include woodworking and agricultural subjects for boys, cooking and sewing for girls, and hygiene and physical training for all.

A new development in our educational policy was inaugurated in 1912 when the federal government adopted the plan of appropriating money to establish vocational education in the various states. This policy is based on the principle that the people of the whole country have an interest in the welfare of every state and every community.

The marvellous growth of public high schools marks a wonderful new advance in education.

The growth of the public high school during the present century and the changes made in its courses of study have been most extraordinary. As an extension of the public-school system it bids fair to rival the growth of the elementary school during the nineteenth century. Before the Civil War there were perhaps not more than one hundred public high schools in the country, although a much larger number of private academies that corresponded to high schools in grade. Even as late as 1875 there were not more than 100,000 pupils in all schools of this grade, and only one out of four of them was enrolled in public high schools. Now there are 13,000 public high schools, with an enrolment of more than 2,000,000 students, while those in private schools number only about 150,000. This increase in attendance shows how large a place the modern free high school occupies in popular education. Instead of concentrating on Greek, Latin, and mathematics, as the custom was years ago, for the training largely of those who expected to be clergymen, lawyers, or physicians, the high schools now devote much attention to those subjects which will give special training for business, com-



MT. WILSON OBSERVATORY.

The 150-foot tower telescope of the Mt. Wilson Observatory at Pasadena, California, which has made possible the measurement of stars which have been proven to be many times the size of the sun.

merce, farming, housekeeping, and other vocational occupations. The high school has well been called the people's college.

A recent movement in public education is the establishment of the junior high school, which usually includes pupils of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. It is proving attractive and profitable because it offers an opportunity to fit the courses of

© *Ewing Galloway.*

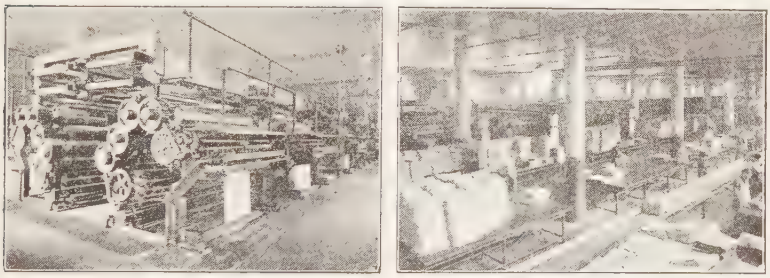
STUDENTS OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS ATTENDING AN OUTDOOR LECTURE ON SOILS.

study to the individual pupil's needs by substituting, in these grades, some high-school subjects and methods of instruction. It has now become an effective part of public-school organization in a considerable number of American cities.

Democratic tendencies in higher education meet present needs.

Not alone in the elementary and secondary schools have the democratic tendencies of education been recognized, but in colleges and universities as well. Young men and women are being trained to become leaders in their communities, their states, and the country as a whole. These higher institutions no longer devote their attention mainly to fitting for the learned professions. They offer courses in engineering, commerce, railroading, journalism, farming, business, and all other professions and callings closely related to the public life.

Many of the universities extend their courses far beyond the limits of their buildings by correspondence and lectures. This method of education is called University Extension. For example, some of the Middle Western universities reach a larger



PRESS-ROOM AND MAILING AND CITY DELIVERY ROOM OF A DETROIT, MICHIGAN, NEWSPAPER.

The press has a capacity of 432,000 sixteen-page papers, printed, folded, cut, and counted in one hour, the paper being fed to the presses from the basement.

number of persons in this way than they have among their resident students.

As an aid and stimulus to the study of agriculture the government in 1885 established at various centres throughout the country a system of experiment stations, where farmers might learn scientific ways of raising various crops, keeping up the fertility of the soil, and improving the breed of cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and poultry. The results were so successful that the number of students attending our many agricultural colleges became rapidly larger.

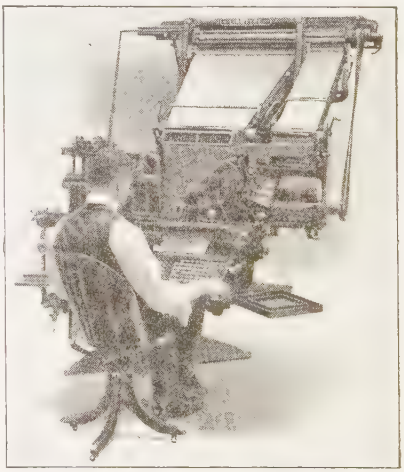
Newspapers and magazines have become great educational agencies.

The high average of intelligence induced by our educational system has created a large and increasing demand for newspapers and magazines. They have become in themselves an immense educational force, contributing to a keener interest and participation in public affairs. Aside from its purpose of enlightenment, a daily newspaper is one of the marvels of present-day industry. It involves the use of several modern inventions. The telegraph, the telephone, the marine cable, and the wireless

all combine in gathering the news, while the linotype and the complex printing-press supply the lightning process of printing. The linotype operates to put the news into type, by means of a keyboard resembling that of a typewriter; and the most advanced printing-press will print, fold, and count 432,000 sixteen-page papers in an hour, at the rate of 120 a second.

American literature has become a powerful factor in American life.

But to satisfy more insistent longings and aspirations, we demand other, higher forms of literature. Indeed, American literature has had a large place in interpreting our national life and in forming our national ideals. Its growth has been one of the most prized achievements of our country. In the first century after the settlements in Virginia and New England, most of our literary work followed the models of England. The authors, naturally, read the books produced in the mother country and took their inspiration from them. Down to the Revolution there were written few books that we value today as literature. In the years of the Revolution writers began to turn more frequently to subjects in the new country. They composed verse, much of it crude, which was truly American; they wrote novels and plays with American characters and American scenes.



A LINOTYPE MACHINE, OPERATED FROM A KEYBOARD, SETS UP A MATRIX [MOULD] AND CASTS A LINE OF TYPE AT A TIME.

This machine revolutionized newspaper typesetting.

When once the new republic was firmly established, and the country began to take on a special individuality of its own, writers found a source of inspiration in the deeds of new heroes and the aspirations of a young and hopeful democracy. Washington Irving wrote essays, sketches, and stories about the

Knickerbockers; Cooper found a large circle of readers who were delighted with his Indian and pioneer stories; Bryant gave new beauty to simple things of nature in our own country; and Franklin wrote down in his simple style the sayings which reflected so well the homely common sense of our people.

With these writers our American literature may be said to have its beginning. During the first half-century before the Civil War, much of our greatest literature was produced. In the field of poetry there were Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Poe, and Lowell; among essayists there were Lowell, Holmes, and Emerson, one of our greatest Americans; of the writers of fiction were Poe and Hawthorne; of historians, a notable group consisting of Bancroft, Motley, Prescott, and Parkman. Surely any nation may be proud of such a list of worthy writers.

The period since the Civil War has been famous for a large number of poets, essayists, historians, novelists, and short-story writers.[1] They have produced a genuine American literature. They have been real Americans, voicing the ideals that have made our country great. They have written of characters in all sections between the two oceans and from Canada to Mexico. For every reader there is delight and profit to be found among the great number of books written by these many authors, while every boy and girl will find something here that breathes the spirit of America, something to enjoy, something to inspire them to a richer life of happiness and service!

The war and other factors affect the high cost of living.

Never were intelligent voters and trained thinkers, such as our educational system and other educational agencies are expected to supply, more needed than in the period immediately following the World War, when so many prob-

[1] Some of the best-known writers of the American novel and the American short-story are Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Bret Harte, Joel Chandler Harris, Frank R. Stockton, George Cable, Mary N. Murfree ("Charles Egbert Craddock"), Frank Norris, James Lane Allen, Mary Wilkins Freeman, William Sydney Porter ("O. Henry"), Jack London, William Allen White, Thomas Nelson Page, Booth Tarkington, Meredith Nicholson, Henry van Dyke, Winston Churchill, Owen Wister, and Ruth McEnery Stuart. Among the writers of poetry are Walt Whitman, Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, Sidney Lanier, Joaquin Miller, Edmund C. Stedman, W. G. Simms. These and many other able writers have interpreted America to Americans as it has never been known before.

lems pressed for solution; and to this need much enlightened thought has been given. One problem was the high cost of living. For several years before the war, prices had been steadily advancing. During the war, when millions of men were withdrawn from industry, the production of many necessary commodities fell off, and in some cases almost ceased. As a result,

TWO PROMINENT AUTHORS OF THE PRE-CIVIL WAR PERIOD.

LEFT
RALPH WALDO EMERSON, ESSAYIST.

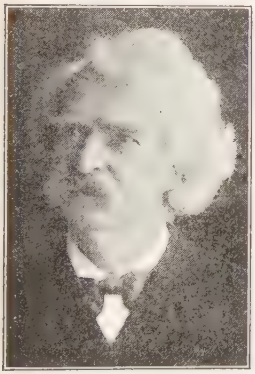
RIGHT
JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, POET.

the cost of living was more than doubled, and since it cost more to live, salaries and wages had to rise to meet the higher scale of prices. This condition was general in all the countries engaged in the war, and until supply should approach or equal demand, stable prices could not return.

There were other factors also that operated to prevent the normal production and flow of commodities for years after the war. In the first place, working men objected to having their increased wages cut down while prices remained high, and producers were reluctant to make reductions on articles that had been produced at high cost. When, therefore, wages were lowered thousands of men went on strike and prices continued to soar. However, with foreign countries unable to buy in our markets as extensively as before, supplies of most articles were soon adequate to our demands and prices began to fall. Three years after the armistice they had dropped in several important instances far toward the pre-war basis.

Of all the necessaries of life, food stands first in importance,

because it is required to sustain life. Its price becomes a serious matter, for its cost affects every household. Yet aside from war there is an economic reason for the higher cost of food-production. Before the end of the last century immense areas of public land had been taken up by settlers, and its cultivation had increased production. But when it was no longer



TWO OF THE MOST PROMINENT FIGURES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE IN THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

LEFT
SAMUEL L. CLEMENS
(MARK TWAIN).

RIGHT
WILLIAM DEAN
HOWELLS.

© *Underwood & Underwood.*

easy to get from the government desirable free land which would produce good crops without the use of a fertilizer, the expense of raising food was greatly increased.

Between 1870 and 1910 the population of the United States had doubled, and not only had the number to be fed increased thereby 100 per cent, but early in the century there was a steady movement of population from the country to the town and the city. Some of the reasons for this are the following: (1) The rising prices of land and its products made it comparatively easy for farmers to rent their farms and remove to the city as landlords; (2) educational advantages were generally better in the city than in the country; (3) city life attracted the younger generation, and (4) the higher profits of industry led to an advance in the wages of industrial labor. As a natural result, men and women, and especially the young people, by the hundred thousands turned their backs on rural life and sought the cities.

Another cause of the high costs was that farmers could no longer rely upon the unpaid labor of their children as in earlier

days. They were driven to depend upon hired laborers, who insisted upon the short hours and the high wages of the factory. In other words, the farmer's labor, now in competition with labor in the industries, was costing far more than it had cost under the old conditions.

It requires no very hard thinking, then, to understand that

LEFT
FRANCES WILLARD.
A prominent leader in the temperance movement.

RIGHT
CLARA BARTON.
Civil War nurse and first President of the American Red Cross.

when land and labor both cost more, and when there are at least 100 per cent more people to feed than there were fifty years ago, prices of farm products must go up; and as long as the present conditions continue, the price of food must remain higher than before.

One of the unfortunate results of the great increase in absentee landlordism in America is that, through lack of proper care, the soil becomes less fertile and hence less productive. Even worse is the dwindling in that most stable element of population, the independent farmer who takes pride in cultivating his own farm and in doing his share in upbuilding the educational, social, and religious life of his community.

Amazing growth of large cities presents new social and economic problems.

The massing of people in great centres has led to an amazing growth of modern cities, and they have created other problems. When the Constitution went into effect in 1789 only about 3 per cent of the people of the United States lived in cities of 2,500 and upward; now not far from 50 per cent live in cities. In the

largest ones, such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Detroit, and San Francisco, all real estate sells at a very high price. This means high rents and crowded housing conditions, yet it is of the first importance to a city that even the poorest classes live in healthful surroundings.

Besides proper housing, the people should have a plentiful supply of pure water, of clean milk, and fresh food. Their houses and other buildings should be protected against fire; their lives and property should be made safe against crime and disorder; and the streets should be kept clean and well lighted. There should be easy, rapid, and cheap methods of transportation, and suitable provision should be made for healthful recreation. In a word, it is imperative in a modern city that the complex requirements of its population should be carefully looked after by public administration if the people are to live healthful, contented, and useful lives.

An adequate merchant marine a safeguard to our national welfare.

Our increasing population together with our immense industries presents another problem,—that of extended transportation. During the World War we found that our country was too largely dependent on the ships of other nations for carrying on our commerce, and we built millions of tons of merchant shipping. Since then building has continued, until now our merchant marine stands next in importance to that of Great Britain. Our effort for many years will inevitably be directed to competing with other nations whose ships are operated at a lower cost.

Monopoly and the claims of labor and the future welfare.

There are other problems and conditions that have a direct bearing upon our future welfare. Among them is monopoly. By this is meant not alone the ownership by a few of the means of production, but also the restriction of the amount of goods put on the market at any time so that prices may be kept at a high level. This unfair practice prevents the economic law of supply and demand from operating freely, and consumers are often obliged to pay much more than a fair price for common articles of food, such as meat, fruits, eggs, and butter, and for many other neces-

sary commodities of life and industry. Some regulation of the production and distribution of these necessaries is required, so that the free flow of the output shall not be hindered by private interests, whether of labor or capital, for the sole purpose of selfish gain.

In this connection the claims of organized labor should receive attention, for they have an intimate relation to our economic life. They include the laborer's demand of the right to strike; a larger share of the products of industry; the consideration of labor as a human co-operating factor, rather than a commodity to use at will; the demand of labor for a place in counsel with the owners and the management as to the conditions under which the work shall be done, hours of labor, and so on. The public is the third party and is most vitally concerned in having a just settlement of all these questions.

The race problem in the South and in the Far West.

The South still has its race problem. In this section there are millions who are descendants of former slaves, and in some Southern states there are more colored people than white. What measures will bring about harmonious relations between the two races and develop the best interests of both is a matter for careful study. Another race problem, affecting especially the Pacific coast, has a direct bearing upon the economic and political relationship of the United States to the two great countries of the Far East—China and Japan. Congress was dealing with this grave problem when it passed the immigration law of 1924 (see page 539), which excludes Japanese laborers from this country.

Our need of a wise policy of conservation.

Of particular importance because of its influence on the public welfare, is the need of a wise conservation policy in the management and control of our national resources. Such a policy will lead to constructive development (either in a private or public way) of water, coal, or mineral resources for the greater social and economic welfare. Too often in the past the tendency has been toward a withdrawal of such resources from productive use through unwise restrictions or exclusive grants to individuals or companies.

Why a budget system is needed for economy in government.

In the operation of government, enormous expenses are incurred, amounting to about $1,000,000,000 annually before the World War and after the war to many times as much. To meet these expenses a thoughtfully planned budget system should centre in a single committee the responsibility of estimating appropriations. The method of preparing a budget by separate committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives is always costly and wasteful. Since the expenses of running the national government have increased so enormously, it is all the more urgent that such a step should be taken in the interest of economy. In 1921 Congress made an important move in that direction by providing for a budget bureau. We may yet see real business economy in the conduct of our government.

Our country as a leader among the nations.

These are some of the problems which have come into our national life as a result of our magnificent heritage of material wealth. The record of our moral achievements during the century and a half of the nation's existence should be an inspiration to further advancement. Already in economic power and political influence our country has won unchallenged leadership among the nations of the world. Is it possible that with noble purpose and righteous deeds we may establish a moral leadership which shall equal our material greatness?

What shall we do as citizens?

Our future will be determined by the character of our citizens. We can make the coming years more glorious than the past, if we hold to the ideals of those patriots who have built up our great republic. We owe it much. From the very beginning it has offered freedom of opportunity to all. In return, let us give loyalty and willing support to its great democratic principles and institutions.

The national flag, our own "Stars and Stripes," is the supreme symbol of our republic and its wonderful achievement. Let us pledge allegiance to this flag, and let it inspire us with love for our country and with an abiding faith in its high destiny.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. This chapter deals with problems of reconstruction, settlements, adjustments, and hopes of a new era in national and world affairs. Why does modern war between leading nations necessarily bring about difficulties in reconstruction? Recall our financial difficulties following the Civil War.

2. What were some of the important national problems, political and industrial, that were a result of the World War? Discuss some of the difficulties involved in connection with each settlement or adjustment.

3. What international settlements and adjustments claimed our attention after the peace? Why was it essential to our prosperity to have the economic and political chaos in Europe cease?

4. How did the 1920 elections change the position of our government toward the League of Nations? In connection with the campaign issues of 1920 reconsider our traditional policy of isolation from European disputes, no entangling alliances, and Monroe Doctrine.

5. Why did it seem wise to start the American citizenship movement? What is the danger that confronts us in unrestricted immigration? Is the United States under any moral obligations to keep her doors open to all who care to enter?

6. In discussing education, we may say that the American idea of democracy is best expressed in the words "equality of opportunity." State clearly how the marvellous growth of elementary schools, high schools, colleges, and universities is in conformity with this principle. Why are public schools necessary in a democracy?

7. Discuss the fact of a decreasing rural population as compared with an increasing city population. What bearing does this fact have upon the production and price of food? What is a possible solution?

8. What is the relation of the individual citizen to the government? Does he exist primarily for the government, or does the government exist as an expression of his will? What, then, are the responsibilities of a citizen in a republic?

9. Read Bok's "A Dutch Boy Fifty Years After" for illuminating ideas on how the door of opportunity is open wide to alert-minded and ambitious boys in your country.

READINGS FOR THE TEACHER AND PUPIL: Ross, *Changing America;* Bok, *A Dutch Boy Fifty Years After;* Antin, *The Promised Land;* Croly, *The Promise of American Life;* Ely, *Studies in the Evolution of Modern Industry;* Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide;* Gulick, *The American-Japanese Problem;* Baker, *Following the Color Line;* Washington, *Up from Slavery;* Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times.*

APPENDIX A

SOME IMPORTANT DATES TO BE REMEMBERED

1492. Columbus discovers America
1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada
1607. Settlement of Jamestown, Virginia
1620. Pilgrims settle at Plymouth, Massachusetts
1623. Settlement of New Amsterdam (later New York)
1689. Beginning of the Inter-Colonial Wars
1763. England defeats France for control of North America
1775. The outbreak of the American Revolution
1776. Declaration of Independence
1781. Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown
1783. England recognizes the independence of the American states
1789. Beginning of our national government
1803. Purchase of the Louisiana Territory
1812–1814. War of 1812 for commercial independence
1823. Monroe Doctrine proclaimed
1829. Jacksonian Democracy comes out of the West
1848. End of Mexican War; Mexican cession
1850. The Compromise of 1850
1857. The Dred Scott Decision
1861. Secession and the outbreak of the Civil War
1863. Emancipation Proclamation issued
1865. End of the Civil War
1898. Spanish-American War
1914. Opening of the Panama Canal
1917–1919. United States in the World War
1921. Conference in Washington on limitation of armaments and problems in the Pacific

APPENDIX B

REVIEW PLANS FOR DIRECTED STUDY

DESIGNED TO FURNISH COMPREHENSIVE REVIEWS, TO RAISE PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION, AND TO SUGGEST TOPICS FOR CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

I. HOW AMERICA COMES TO BE DISCOVERED

1. American beginnings in the Old World
2. Pressure of population westward in Europe
3. The influence of the Crusades upon trade with the Far East
4. Closing of Eastern trade routes by the Turks
5. The Portuguese search for an all-water route to India
6. Columbus sails westward for India and discovers the New World
7. John Cabot discovers the mainland of North America
8. America is named after Americus Vespucius

Require the pupils to discuss what the discovery of America meant to the people of western Europe.

II. HOW RIVAL EUROPEAN POWERS ESTABLISH AND CONTROL THEIR COLONIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POSSESSION OF AMERICA

Compare and contrast the Spanish, the French, the Dutch, and the English in America, applying the following questions to each people: (1) With what motives did they come? (2) Where did they establish their colonies, and what was the extent of their territorial claims? (Construct map.) (3) How did the colonists live and how were they governed? (4) What remains of the national culture of each of these people in America?

A. The Spanish in America

1. The Spanish seek gold and silver in the New World
2. The work of Spain's explorers
3. The Spanish establish extensive missions among the Indians
4. Why Spanish settlements fail in North America
5. The defeat of the Spanish Armada by England
6. Spain and the Louisiana Territory

7. The purchase of Florida from Spain
8. The revolt of the Spanish-American colonies; the Monroe Doctrine
9. The Spanish-American War; Spain loses the last of her American colonies

Require the pupils to consider two policies of Spain in America: (1) Absolutism in government and (2) Exploitation of the land and its people. Then answer the question, Why did Spain fail in America?

B. The French in America

1. The work of Cartier and Champlain
2. French missionaries and traders in the Mississippi Valley
3. The French strive with the English for control in America
4. The French lose their North American possessions
5. France helps America win her independence
6. Influence of the French Revolution on American affairs
7. The X Y Z papers and serious trouble with France
8. France regains Louisiana from Spain and sells it to the United States
9. Napoleon III attempts to establish an empire in Mexico

Require the pupils to consider the French policy of paternalism in colonial government. Then answer the question, Why was France not permanently successful in America?

C. The Dutch in America

1. Henry Hudson discovers the Hudson River
2. Dutch trading-posts established along the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Connecticut Rivers
3. The Dutch attempt to institute the patroon system
4. The Dutch win the friendship of the Iroquois Indians
5. New Netherland becomes an English colony

Require the pupils to discuss the feudal patroon system in a new country. Then answer the question, Why would not the Dutch settlers fight for the continuation of Dutch authority in New Netherland?

D. The English in America

1. Raleigh's unsuccessful attempts to colonize America
2. The London and the Plymouth Companies chartered

3. Three geographical groups of colonies established—the Southern, the New England, and the Middle
4. How the colonists live
5. Three types of government established in the colonies—the republican, the proprietary, and the royal
6. Three forces tend to unite the colonies—(1) the Indians, (2) the French, and (3) the royal and proprietary governors
7. England gains control of North America

Require the pupils to discuss three features of English colonization: (1) Charter guarantees of rights of free-born Englishmen; (2) the policy of allowing a large measure of self-government to the colonists; (3) the policy of permanently establishing family life in America. Then answer the question, Why did the English win in the struggle for control in North America? What bearing did their supremacy have on the future of America?

III. HOW WE HAVE GROWN FROM ISOLATED ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE ATLANTIC INTO A GREAT REPUBLIC

A. Accessions of Territory Leading to the Present Boundaries of the United States

1. Charter grants to the colonists
2. Claims to Western lands by the several original states at the close of the Revolution
3. The organization of the Northwest Territory
4. The purchase of the Louisiana Territory
5. The purchase of Florida
6. The annexation of Texas
7. Settlement of claims to Oregon
8. The Mexican cession
9. The Gadsden Purchase
10. The purchase of Alaska
11. The annexation of Hawaii
12. The Spanish cessions
13. The Panama Canal Zone
14. The purchase of the Danish West Indies

Require the pupils to examine critically the conditions and motives behind each acquisition of territory. Then ask, How has each accession helped to make us more prosperous and powerful?

B. The Frontier Moves Westward to the Pacific

1. The influence of the Indian on the character of the settler
2. The frontier (1) in Colonial times (Indian wars, Bacon's Rebellion); (2) under the Confederation (Shays's Rebellion); (3) in the first years of the republic (Whiskey Rebellion)
3. The frontier moves across the Alleghanies (early pioneers and settlements)
4. The National Road and the Erie Canal as highways to the West
5. Jacksonian or frontier democracy takes control
6. Speculation in Western lands and wildcat banking
7. The Old Oregon Trail and hardships of travel across the plains
8. Southern pioneers in Texas
9. The mining frontiers
10. "Squatter sovereignty" in the Kansas-Nebraska Territory
11. Strong feeling of nationalism in the West
12. Immigrants arrive in the north Mississippi Valley states
13. The Mormons cross the plains to Utah
14. Railroads advance and the prairie frontier
15. The passing of the Indian and the buffalo
16. The cowboy and the great ranches
17. Improved machinery advances the frontier westward
18. Reclamation service removes the last frontier

To what extent is American history a chronicle of frontier movements and accompanying problems? What effect has the frontier had upon the character of the settler?

C. The Growth of Nationalism

1. Steps leading to the Constitution (see Appendix D, p. 569)
2. The adoption of the Constitution and the formation of the federal government
3. The Louisiana Purchase strengthens the national government
4. Struggle for commercial independence ends in the War of 1812
5. The Monroe Doctrine an indication of growing national feeling
6. Westward growth and leadership become nationalizing influences
7. Railroads and the telegraph help to unify the people
8. The Civil War establishes supremacy of the national government
9. The new union of states with common interests and responsibilities

What makes us a nation? Require the pupil (1) to show clearly what the states had to give up and what they gained in ratifying the Constitution; (2) to consider the Constitution as

a basis for the growth of nationality; (3) to estimate the services of Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, Jackson, Webster, and Lincoln in making secure and binding the powers of the central government.

D. Growth of American Ideals of Democracy

1. Charter guarantees of English liberties
2. Frontier conditions tend to develop self-government and the spirit of independence
3. Colonists object to trade restraints imposed by England
4. The American idea of representation contrasted with the English
5. Our ideal of government by consent expressed in the Declaration of Independence
6. Extreme notions of democracy as indicated by state jealousies under the Confederation
7. Conservative democracy established under the Constitution
8. Failure of the Federalist party by reason of its ideas of selective government and of limited suffrage
9. Hamilton and Jefferson are authors of two fundamental political ideas
10. Jacksonian democracy: (1) Equality of Opportunity; (2) full manhood suffrage
11. Abolition movement and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments
12. Recent laws to extend popular control over government affairs
13. Woman-suffrage movement becomes a further extension of our democratic ideals
14. America fights to maintain democracy in the world
15. Extension of popular education is a symbol of growing democracy: (1) Establishment of common school, public high schools, and state universities; (2) education of girls and women; and (3) influence of newspapers, magazines, and books

Ask the pupils to consider all the foregoing evidences of the growth of democracy in America. Then require them to answer definitely the question, What are the evidences of progress in the history of our country?

IV. POLITICAL PARTIES, SECTIONALISM, AND THE ADMISSION OF NEW STATES TO THE UNION

1. How sectional interests come to the front in the Constitutional Convention
2. Beginning of party alignment: Views of Hamilton and Jefferson; Federalists and Democratic-Republicans

3. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions
4. The Hartford Convention and the end of the Federalist party
5. Clash of sectional interests over admission of Missouri and Maine: The Missouri Compromise
6. Cotton interests of the South oppose manufacturing interests in New England on the tariff: nullification
7. The West under Clay's leadership favors a high tariff, internal improvements, and the National Bank
8. The National Republican (later the Whig) party champions strong national government policies
9. The abolition movement intensifies sectional feeling
10. The Compromise of 1850
11. The anti-slavery faction forms the Free Soil (later the Republican) party
12. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill: Kansas decides for freedom
13. The Dred Scott Decision opens all territories and states to slavery
14. The Republican party succeeds the Whigs and Free-Soilers in the North
15. The election of 1860
16. Issues settled by the Civil War
17. The South solid after 1860
18. States admitted since the Civil War

Require the pupils to chart the growth of the leading parties from Washington's time to the present, showing how new parties fell heir to certain older ideas. Why has bitter sectionalism disappeared in the United States since the Civil War?

V. THE INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN NATIONAL POLICIES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

A. The Policy of Isolation and No Entangling Alliances

1. The weakness of the new republic as compared with the strength of European powers
2. Character of European conflicts not in harmony with our ideals
3. Our refusal to aid France in her ambitious revolutionary aims
4. Washington's farewell counsel respecting political alliances
5. Our refusal to allow England to join us in proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine
6. Tendency of industrial revolution, with its specialization of industry, to break down our isolation
7. Ocean barriers reduced by the steamship, the cable, and the wireless telephone
8. Our proclamation of neutrality and our entrance into the World War

Why did we not maintain our traditional American position of aloofness and isolation in the World War? Give reasons why you think it will or will not be possible to maintain such a position in the future?

B. How the Monroe Doctrine Has Grown into a Policy of Far-Reaching Significance in the Western Hemisphere

1. The Spanish colonies in America revolt and set up republics
2. The Holy Alliance and its aims
3. The Monroe Doctrine an expression of American policy with reference to possible aggressive acts toward America by European nations
4. Napoleon III's attempt to disregard it in Mexico
5. The Anglo-Venezuelan difficulty and its connection with the Monroe Doctrine
6. The Monroe Doctrine as applied to difficulties in the Dominican Republic and Hayti in 1907 and 1914
7. The Monroe Doctrine and Article X in the Covenant of the League of Nations

In reviewing the Monroe Doctrine, ask the pupils to consider the expansion of the doctrine from (1) first forbidding European nations to interfere in American affairs, to (2) accepting responsibility by intervention in Santo Domingo in 1907 for the collection of revenues due European creditors.

C. How Our Recent Paternalistic Policies of Regulation and Control by the Federal Government Have Come into Being

1. The establishment of the post-office
2. Evidences of paternalism in internal improvements at national expense
3. Federal aid to Pacific railroads
4. Conservation of natural resources
5. The reclamation service and irrigation projects
6. Federal aid to the building of good roads
7. Agricultural schools and experiment stations
8. Rural free delivery and the parcel-post
9. The Federal Reserve Act and postal savings-banks
10. The establishment of national parks

Consider the comparative indifference of the government to the operation of private and corporate business enterprises

from 1860 to the time of the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887. Why have so many paternalistic policies been put into operation in recent years? Are such policies good for the entire people? To what extent?

VI. HOW GREAT INDUSTRIES HAVE DEVELOPED IN THE UNITED STATES

A. How Transportation Has Developed

1. Means of travel during the period of discovery and exploration
2. Means of travel in colonial days
3. The Erie Canal in the early national period
4. The first railroads
5. The Great Trunk Line systems
6. The automobile and the flying-machine
7. Improved methods of transportation and (1) modification of the life of the people, (2) development of Western territories, (3) manufacturing, (4) mining, (5) commerce, (6) growth of large cities

Study a map showing the network of railroads in the United States. (Secure railway folders.) Discuss why certain sections of the United States grow corn almost exclusively, and other sections wheat, cotton, fruit, or live stock.

B. How Manufacturing Has Developed from Small Household Production to Large-Scale Production in the Factory

1. Household production in colonial times
2. Dependence on England for manufactured goods
3. Inventions that brought about the industrial revolution in England and in the United States
4. Infant industries following the War of 1812
5. Tariffs for revenue and tariffs for protection
6. Development of (1) textile manufacturing in the United States; (2) iron and steel; (3) mineral products; (4) lumber resources; (5) food-producing industries

Given our natural resources, explain the uses of raw materials in various manufactures in the United States? Have protective tariffs developed any industries that would not naturally prosper in America? Is such a policy beneficial to our general welfare?

C. How Trade and Commerce Have Developed

1. Commerce in colonial days
2. Commerce during the early years of the republic
3. Inventions that facilitated trade following the War of 1812
4. Opening of commercial relationships with Japan and China (1854–1860)
5. The growth of "big business" in the United States
6. Effects of trusts, monopolies, and unfair methods of competition
7. The Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Board
8. The Panama Canal, coastwise shipping, and ocean commerce
9. Our merchant marine in recent years

Some countries would starve in a short time if their commerce were cut off. Of what countries is this true, and why?

D. How Industrial Growth Has Complicated the Relations between Labor and Capital

1. Collective bargaining
2. The open and the closed shop
3. Growth of the large labor-unions
4. The American Federation of Labor
5. Strikes, picketing, and the boycott
6. Employers' organizations
7. The lockout, the black list, and strike-breaking
8. Social unrest and the rise of the Socialist party

Some results of the development of great industries are: the production of the necessaries of life in large quantities, the ability to produce these articles at lower costs, the congestion of population in large industrial centres, the alignment of labor and capital in two powerful groups.

In general, has great industrial growth resulted in our greater comfort and happiness? Require the pupils to make lists of what they consider the beneficial and what the harmful effects.

VII. HOW IMMIGRATION HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE MAKING OF AMERICA

1. Immigration in colonial times, from 1607 to 1750
2. Immigration during the first part of the nineteenth century (1815 to 1830)
3. Immigration about the middle of the century, 1840 to 1860

4. The later great influx of immigrants, 1880 to 1914
5. Immigration since the World War
6. Legislation on immigration
7. The problem of assimilation of immigrants in recent times

Consider with the pupil the following: when immigrants came, why they came, where they settled, and what their influence socially, industrially, and politically was in the localities in which they settled. Require the pupils to state the various problems of Americanizing and assimilating all who do come. Then ask them to explain why the United States cannot safely continue the policy of the open door to all nations?

VIII. AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS AND TREATIES

1. Treaty of peace between France and England in 1763
2. Treaty of alliance with France in 1778
3. Treaty of peace with England in 1783
4. Jay's treaty with England in 1795
5. Treaty of peace with Tripoli in 1805
6. England claims the right to search American vessels and to impress American seamen
7. England and France greatly injure American commerce
8. War of 1812 and treaty with England in 1814
9. The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine in 1823
10. The Mexican War and the treaty of peace
11. The blockade and the "Trent" Affair
12. England and King Cotton -sympathy of English workingmen for the North
13. England and the Confederate navy; the "Alabama" claims settled by arbitration
14. Napoleon III and the Confederate navy; army of occupation in Mexico
15. The Bering Sea trouble settled by arbitration
16. The Chinese Exclusion Act
17. The Anglo-Venezuelan dispute and the Monroe Doctrine
18. The Spanish-American War and the treaty with Spain
19. China and the "open door"
20. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty and the building of the canal
21. President Roosevelt as peacemaker
22. The Hague Peace Conferences
23. The United States a great world power
24. Our protectorate policy over small American republics. (See Santo Domingo, Hayti)
25. The Newfoundland fisheries dispute settled by arbitration

26. The treaty with Japan—the gentleman's agreement
27. General arbitration treaties with various countries
28. The Panama tolls question
29. The problem of neutrality in the World War
30. Germany's unrestricted submarine policy drives us into the war
31. Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations
32. The Washington Conference for Limitation of Armaments and discussion of issues in the Pacific and the Far East

Consider this statement: "We are the most cosmopolitan of nations in the sense that our people have been gathered from all the world; but we have been far less cosmopolitan in the nature of our world activities. In fact, up to our participation in the World War we have been called insular." How do you account for this? To what extent can we consistently interest ourselves in the affairs of other nations when we so vigilantly pursue our American policy of "non-interference" of other nations in American affairs? In this connection discuss our Far Eastern problems.

IX. ILLUSTRIOUS MEN AND WOMEN IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Prepare a list of the Presidents of the United States, indicating the years they were in office, and then associate each President with what you consider the most important movement of his time. Ask the pupils to state what they consider, as a result of their study, the most notable achievement and lasting service rendered our country by its Presidents.

Make lists of the most distinguished Americans, men or women, in the following groups: (1) Statesmen, (2) soldiers and seamen, (3) inventors, (4) pioneers, (5) captains of industry, (6) labor leaders, (7) philanthropists, (8) educators, (9) reformers, (10) novelists, poets, essayists, journalists, and historians or scientists. Indicate why each is entitled to special notice.

APPENDIX C

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The following preamble and specifications, known as the Declaration of Independence, accompanied the resolution of Richard Henry Lee, which was adopted by Congress on the 2d day of July, 1776. This declaration was agreed to on the 4th, and the transaction is thus recorded in the Journal for that day:

"Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report. The Declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:"

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the

same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

1. He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

2. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

3. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

4. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

5. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

6. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

7. He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

8. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

9. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure on their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

11. He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

12. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

13. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation;

14. For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

15. For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

16. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

17. For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

18. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of a trial by jury;

19. For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

20. For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

21. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

22. For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

23. He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

24. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

25. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

26. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

27. He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved

from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND.
Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.
Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.
William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.
Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

DELAWARE.
Cæsar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND.
Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.
George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jun.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.
William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jun.,
Thomas Lynch, Jun.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.
Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

APPENDIX D

A CHART ON THE CONSTITUTION

- **Some Steps toward the Constitution...**
  - New England Confederation (1643).
  - Franklin's Plan of Union (1754).
  - Stamp Act Congress (1765).
  - Committees of Correspondence (1772).
  - First Meeting of the Continental Congress (1774).
  - Declaration of Independence (1776).
  - Adoption of Articles of Confederation (1781).
  - Annapolis Convention (1786).
  - Constitutional Convention (1787).
- **Legislative Department.....**
  - House of Representatives.....
    - Manner of election.
    - Term of office.
    - Qualifications.
    - Represents the people.
    - Census.
    - Apportionment.
    - Speaker the Presiding Officer.
  - Senate.....
    - Number.
    - Manner of election.
    - Term of office.
    - Represents the States.
    - Qualifications.
    - Sole power to try impeachments.
    - Vice-President the Presiding Officer.
- **Executive Department.....**
  - President.....
    - Term of office.
    - Manner of election.
    - Qualifications.
    - Oath of office.
    - Impeachment.
  - Cabinet.....
    - Manner of appointment.
    - Number.
    - Duties.
- **Judicial Department.**
  - Judges.....
    - Manner of appointment.
    - Number.
    - Term of office.
  - Courts .....
    - Supreme.
    - Circuit.
    - District.

- Congress
  - Time of meeting.
  - Quorum.
  - Adjournment.
  - Journal.
  - How a Bill becomes a Law.
  - Congress has power—
    - To lay taxes.
    - To borrow money.
    - To regulate commerce.
    - To naturalize foreigners.
    - To coin money.
    - To fix standard of weights and measures.
    - To establish post-offices.
    - To declare war.
    - To raise and support armies.
    - To provide and maintain a navy.
    - To maintain light-houses.
    - To make new States.
- President's Powers...
  - Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy.
  - With the advice and consent of the Senate makes treaties and appoints.....
    - Ambassadors.
    - Ministers.
    - Consuls.
    - Judges.
- President's Duties..
  - Messages to Congress. Special sessions of Congress. Receives Ambassadors. Attends to execution of laws.
- "Bill of Rights".....
  - Freedom of speech.
  - Freedom of the press.
  - Religious freedom.
  - The right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances.
  - The right of trial by jury.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.—Legislative Department.

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

CLAUSE 2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,[1] which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

CLAUSE 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

CLAUSE 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

CLAUSE 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year, and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

CLAUSE 3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

CLAUSE 5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

CLAUSE 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

[1] Under the census of 1910 one representative is apportioned to every 212,407 people.

CLAUSE 7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—CLAUSE 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—CLAUSE 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

CLAUSE 2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

CLAUSE 3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

CLAUSE 4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—CLAUSE 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

CLAUSE 2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—CLAUSE 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

CLAUSE 2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

CLAUSE 3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.—CLAUSE 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

CLAUSE 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

CLAUSE 4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

CLAUSE 6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

CLAUSE 7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

CLAUSE 8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

CLAUSE 9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

CLAUSE 10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

CLAUSE 11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

CLAUSE 12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

CLAUSE 13. To provide and maintain a navy;

CLAUSE 14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

CLAUSE 15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

CLAUSE 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

CLAUSE 17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

CLAUSE 18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—CLAUSE 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

CLAUSE 2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

CLAUSE 3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

CLAUSE 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

CLAUSE 5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

CLAUSE 6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

CLAUSE 7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

CLAUSE 8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.—CLAUSE 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any

bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

CLAUSE 2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

CLAUSE 3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.—Executive Department.

SECTION I.—CLAUSE 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during a term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

CLAUSE 2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

CLAUSE 3.[1]

CLAUSE 4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

CLAUSE 5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

CLAUSE 6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

CLAUSE 7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

CLAUSE 8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the fol-

[1] This clause is no longer in force. Amendment XII. has superseded it.

lowing oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

CLAUSE 2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of department.

CLAUSE 3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.—Judicial Department.

SECTION I.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their service a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1.[1] The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

CLAUSE 2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

CLAUSE 3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.—General Provisions.

SECTION I.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

CLAUSE 2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

CLAUSE 3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

[1] This clause has been modified by Amendment XI.

SECTION III.—Clause 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Clause 2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.—The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.—Power of Amendment.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.—Miscellaneous Provisions.

Clause 1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Clause 2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Clause 3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.—Ratification of the Constitution.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

CONSENT OF THE STATES PRESENT.[1]

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.
NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE.
GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.
JAMES MCHENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.
JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.
WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.
WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

[1] Rhode Island was not represented in the Federal Convention.

AMENDMENTS[1]

To the Constitution of the United States, Ratified according to the Provisions of the Fifth Article of the Foregoing Constitution.

ARTICLE I.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.—A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

[1] Amendments I. to X. were declared in force December 15, 1791.

ARTICLE IX.—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.[1]—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.[2]—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.[3]—SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the person shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

[1] Declared in force January 8, 1798. [2] Declared in force September 25, 1804.
[3] Declared in force December 18, 1865.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.[1]—SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pension and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.[2]—SECTION 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Declared in force July 28, 1868.

[2] Declared in force March 30, 1870.

ARTICLE XVI.[1]—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.[2]—SECTION 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

SECTION 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

SECTION 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.[3]—SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX.[4]—SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

[1] Declared in force February 25, 1913.
[2] Declared in force May 31, 1913.
[3] Declared in force January 16, 1920.
[4] Declared in force August 26, 1920.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR THE PUPIL

1. What colonies united to form the New England Confederation, and what were its purposes and results? What was Franklin's plan of Union, and why was it not adopted? What did the Stamp Act Congress do? What was the leading object of the Committees of Correspondence?
2. Under what circumstances was the first meeting of the Continental Congress held? What led the colonies to adopt the Declaration of Independence?
3. When did the States adopt the Articles of Confederation? Explain the weakness of the central governing power, Congress, under the Articles of Confederation. Tell what you can about the Annapolis Convention; the Constitutional Convention.
4. Under the Constitution, what are the three departments of our government? Which of them makes the laws? Which sees that they are carried out? Which interprets them and tries cases arising under them?
5. Of what does the legislative department consist? How are members of the House of Representatives elected? For how long? What are their qualifications?
6. How many people does each member of the House represent? What is the unit of representation? How can you find the number of representatives in any State? How many in your own? Why?
7. What do the senators represent? How are they elected and for what term of office? What are their qualifications?
8. What exclusive functions has the House? the Senate?
9. What are the qualifications of the President? How is he elected? For what term of office is he elected? What is meant by the impeachment of the President?
10. What is the President's cabinet? How many members had Washington's cabinet? How many in the cabinet now? What are the duties of the cabinet officers?
11. Name the various kinds of national courts. How many judges are there in the Supreme Court? How are they appointed and what is their term of office? Why should we have national courts?
12. Explain the three courses which a bill must take in order to become a law. Name the powers of Congress enumerated in the chart.
13. What military power has the President? How are treaties and important appointments made? What duties of the President are named in the chart?

APPENDIX E

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES

No.	Name.	Date of Admission.	Area in Square Miles.	Population 1920 Census.	Representatives in Congress 1920.	Electoral Votes[1] 1920.
1	Delaware[2]	1787	2,050	223,003	1	3
2	Pennsylvania	1787	45,215	8,720,017	36	38
3	New Jersey	1787	7,816	3,158,900	12	14
4	Georgia	1788	59,475	2,895,832	12	14
5	Connecticut	1788	4,990	1,380,631	5	7
6	Massachusetts	1788	8,315	3,852,356	16	18
7	Maryland	1788	12,210	1,449,661	6	8
8	South Carolina	1788	30,570	1,683,724	7	9
9	New Hampshire	1788	9,305	443,083	2	4
10	Virginia	1788	42,450	2,309,187	10	12
11	New York	1788	49,170	10,384,829	43	45
12	North Carolina	1789	52,250	2,559,123	10	12
13	Rhode Island	1790	1,250	604,397	3	5
14	Vermont	1791	9,565	352,428	2	4
15	Kentucky	1792	40,400	2,416,630	11	13
16	Tennessee	1796	42,050	2,337,883	10	12
17	Ohio	1802	41,060	5,759,394	22	24
18	Louisiana	1812	48,720	1,798,509	8	10
19	Indiana	1816	36,350	2,930,390	13	15
20	Mississippi	1817	46,810	1,790,618	8	10
21	Illinois	1818	56,650	6,485,280	27	29
22	Alabama	1819	52,250	2,348,174	10	12
23	Maine	1820	33,040	768,014	4	6
24	Missouri	1821	69,415	3,404,055	16	18
25	Arkansas	1836	53,850	1,752,204	7	9
26	Michigan	1837	58,915	3,668,412	13	15
27	Florida	1845	58,680	968,470	4	6
28	Texas	1845	265,780	4,663,228	18	20
29	Iowa	1846	56,025	2,404,021	11	13
30	Wisconsin	1848	56,040	2,632,067	11	13
31	California	1850	158,360	3,426,861	8	10
32	Minnesota	1858	83,365	2,387,125	10	12
33	Oregon	1859	96,030	783,389	3	5
34	Kansas	1861	82,080	1,769,257	8	10
35	West Virginia	1863	24,780	1,463,701	6	8
36	Nevada	1864	110,700	77,407	1	3

[1] In 1920 the total number of representatives in Congress was 435. Add to this number 96 for the number of senators in the Senate, and the result is 531 electoral votes.

[2] The dates opposite the first thirteen—the "Original Thirteen"—indicate the year when the States ratified the Constitution.

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES—*Continued*

No.	Name.	Date of Admission.	Area in Square Miles.	Population 1920 Census	Representatives in Congress 1920.	Electoral Votes, 1920.
37	Nebraska	1867	77,510	1,296,372	6	8
38	Colorado	1876	103,925	937,629	4	6
39	North Dakota	1889	70,795	645,680	3	5
40	South Dakota	1889	77,650	636,547	3	5
41	Montana	1889	146,080	548,889	2	4
42	Washington	1889	69,180	1,356,621	5	7
43	Idaho	1890	84,800	431,886	2	4
44	Wyoming	1890	97,890	194,402	1	3
45	Utah	1896	84,970	449,396	2	4
46	Oklahoma	1907	70,430	2,028,283	8	10
47	New Mexico	1912	122,580	360,350	1	3
48	Arizona	1912	113,020	333,903	1	3
	District of Columbia		70	437,571		

TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES

	Date Acquired.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1920 Census
Alaska	1867	590,884	54,899
Hawaii	1898	6,449	255,912
Porto Rico	1898	3,434	1,299,809
Guam	1898	210	13,275
Philippines	1898	115,026	10,350,640
Tutuila[1]	1899	77	8,056
Panama Canal Zone	1904	436	22,858
Virgin Islands	1917	142	26,051

[1] One of the Samoan Group.

APPENDIX F

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

President.	State.	By Whom Elected.	Term of Office.
George Washington	Virginia	Whole people	Two terms; 1789–1797.
John Adams	Massachusetts	Federalists.	One term; 1797–1801.
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Dem.-Rep.	Two terms; 1801–1809.
James Madison	Virginia	Dem.-Rep.	Two terms; 1809–1817.
James Monroe	Virginia	Dem.-Rep.	Two terms; 1817–1825.
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	Dem.-Rep.	One term; 1825–1829.
Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	Dem.	Two terms; 1829–1837.
Martin Van Buren	New York	Dem.	One term; 1837–1841.
William Henry Harrison	Ohio	Whigs.	One month; 1841.
John Tyler	Virginia	Whigs.	3 yrs. 11 mos.; 1841–1845.
James Knox Polk	Tennessee	Dem.	One term; 1845–1849.
Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	Whigs.	1 yr. 4 mos.; 1849, 1850.
Millard Fillmore	New York	Whigs.	2 yrs. 8 mos.; 1850–1853.
Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	Dem.	One term; 1853–1857.
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	Dem.	One term; 1857–1861.
Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	Rep.	One term and 6 wks.; 1861–1865.
Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	Rep.	3 yrs. 10 mos.; 1865–1869.
Ulysses Simpson Grant	Illinois	Rep.	Two terms; 1869–1877.
Rutherford Burchard Hayes	Ohio	Rep.	One term; 1877–1881.
James Abram Garfield	Ohio	Rep.	6 mos. 15 days; 1881.
Chester Alan Arthur	New York	Rep.	3 yrs. 5 mos., 15 days; 1881–1885.
Grover Cleveland	New York	Dem.	One term; 1885–1889.
Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	Rep.	One term; 1889–1893.
Grover Cleveland	New York	Dem.	One term; 1893–1897.
William McKinley	Ohio	Rep.	One term and 6⅓ mos.; 1897–1901.
Theodore Roosevelt	New York	Rep.	3 yrs. 5⅔ mos. and one term; 1901–1909.
William Howard Taft	Ohio	Rep.	One term; 1909–1913.
Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	Dem.	Two terms; 1913–1921.
Warren Gamaliel Harding	Ohio	Rep.	1921–1923
Calvin Coolidge	Massachusetts	Rep.	1 yr., 7 mos., 2 days, and re-elected, 1924.

APPENDIX G

SOME HELPFUL METHOD BOOKS FOR TEACHERS

An American Citizenship Course in United States History: General Course, Grades I–VIII; Course with Type Studies for Grades IV–V, VI, VII, and VIII. Published for The American School Citizenship League in 1920. (Scribner.)

Bourne: *The Teaching of History and Civics.* (Longmans.)

Study of History in the Elementary Schools, Report of the Committee of Eight. (Scribner.)

Dewey: *Democracy and Education*: chapter on "Teaching of History."

Harrison: *The Meaning of History.* (Macmillan.)

The Historical Outlook. (Monthly.) (McKinley.)

Mace: *Method in History for Teachers and Students.* (Rand-McNally.)

McMurray: *Special Method in History.* (Macmillan.)

Robinson: *The New History: Essays.* (Macmillan.)

Tryon: *Teaching History in Junior and Senior High Schools.* (Ginn.)

Wayland: *How to Teach American History.* (Macmillan.)

BOOKS OF REFERENCE ON SPECIAL FEATURES OF UNITED STATES HISTORY FOR TEACHERS AND PUPILS

Parkman: *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West.* (Little-Brown.)

Turner: *The Frontier in American History.* (Holt.)

Sparks: *Expansion of the American People.* (Scott-Foresman.)

Roosevelt: *Winning of the West.* (Putnam.)

Lodge: *Story of the Revolution.* (Scribner.)

Brigham: *Geographical Influences in American History.* (Ginn.)

Bogart: *Economic History of the United States.* (Longmans.)

Van Metre: *Economic History of the United States.* (Holt.)

Wright: *Industrial Evolution.* (Scribner.)

Rhodes: *History of the Civil War.* (Macmillan.)

Burgess: *Civil War and the Constitution.* 2 vols. (Scribner.)

Paxson: *Recent History of the United States.* (Houghton-Mifflin.)

Haworth: *United States in Our Own Times.* (Scribner.)

Latané: *From Isolation to Leadership.* (Doubleday.)

SOURCE READINGS

The Old South Leaflets. (Dir. O. S. W., Old South Meeting House, Boston.)

Hart: *American History Told by Contemporaries.* (Macmillan.)

Hart: *Source Book of American History.* (Macmillan.)

Jameson: *Original Narratives of Early American History.* (Scribner.)

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CARNESE

Ernest Carnese

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B. No. 116977

Little Gordy

E 47 3

Wm Carruth

Gordy B
W B
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17
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2 pallets in the forest

East Victory Trail

Wm Carruth

Carruth Avenue
Trail
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